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Correspondence
OF
Edward, Third Earl of Derby,
DURING THE YEARS 24 TO 31 HENRY VIII.

PRESERVED IN A MS. IN THE POSSESSION OF MISS FFARINGTON,
OF WORDEN HALL.

EDITED BY
T. NORTHCOTE TOLLER, M.A.,
Late Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge; and
Smith Professor of English in The Owens College, Manchester.

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.
1890.



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ERRATA.

Page xix., line 12, *for* "33" *read* "34."

PREFACE.

THE documents printed in this volume cannot claim the interest which belongs to perfect novelty. Those in Part I., indeed, have already appeared in full, but the more numerous collections forming Parts II. and III. have so far been published, for the most part at least, only in abstracts, and those often very brief ones, to which references will be found given in the text. The *MS.* from which the documents are taken is a large-sized quarto book of forty leaves, bound with a vellum cover, and written in a neat and legible hand, and has apparently been copied from the originals at the instance of Sir HENRY FFARINGTON. It is in the possession of his descendant, Miss FFARINGTON, by whose courtesy the editor has been enabled to consult it at Worden Hall, where it is preserved; its presence there, as well as its origin, may be accounted for by the relations subsisting between Sir HENRY FFARINGTON, the first of his name to live at Worden, and the EARL OF DERBY. (See Introduction p. iv.)

The correspondence, which extends over a period of about seven years (24-31 Henry VIII.), is arranged, as a rule, chronologically in the *MS.*, but in printing it this

Preface.

order has not been kept; the subject matter has been taken into account; that part of the correspondence which is of historic interest has been put first, irrespective of its date, the rest, which is more concerned with the Earl's private affairs, then follows. The whole has been divided into three parts. The first of these contains certain letters and depositions concerning slanders on the King and Anne Boleyn, and the proceedings in relation thereto. The second consists of the correspondence of the Earl dealing with the Pilgrimage of Grace, and gives an account of his procedure during that insurrection; it is not printed according to the order of the *MS.*, but is arranged so as to fit in with a continuous narrative of the rebellion; the order of the *MS.*, however, is marked by the number placed at the head of each letter. Part III. is concerned, as has been said, with more private affairs, and throws some light on the position occupied at the time by the Earl. (See the introductory remarks to this part.)

It is many years since steps were taken towards the preparation of the Correspondence for publication as one of the volumes of the Chetham Society. In 1851 CANON RAINES made the transcript which has now been used, and some years later the work of editing was entrusted to the present PRESIDENT of the Society; unfortunately, however, he was prevented from carrying out the work. Under these circumstances, which every member will regret, he very kindly placed the transcripts of the *MS.* which had been made at the disposal of the present

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editor, who has further to thank him for his kindness in reading through much of the editorial material and in giving valuable advice.

With respect to the matter added by the editor, it will be seen that very large use has been made of the Society's volumes and of the Record Office publications. For the sake of economy in space these and other works are referred to as shortly as possible, and accordingly the following contractions may need explanation :—

Annal. Furn. History and Antiquities of the Abbey of Furness, by
T. A. Beck.

C. S. Chetham Society's Publications (volume and page given).

Fried. Anne Boleyn, by Paul Friedmann. 2 vols.

L. & P. Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the reign of
Henry VIII. (The volume is not generally given, as this is sufficiently determined by the date ; the reference is to the number of the document.)

S. P. State Papers published under the authority of his Majesty's
Commission, Henry VIII.'s reign.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Correspondence printed in this volume falls into three divisions. Of these the first two deal with matters of national interest, in which the Earl of Derby was engaged ; the third is concerned with the Earl's private affairs. To the first and third little reference is made in the following introductory remarks ; before each will be found so much of preface as may serve for its explanation ; but the second, which is much longer than the first, and of much more importance and interest than the third, may be thought to call for more notice than is found in the material given in the body of the work, to serve as a framework for the letters. In this division a complete account is given of the method of procedure when the country or the county was called upon to oppose insurrection, and the object of most that follows is to illustrate this account. But all three sections have this much in common, that the documents contained in them owe their existence to Sir Henry ffarington, and are for the most part largely concerned with the affairs of the Earl of Derby. Some account of the Earl, and of one who seems to have acted as his secretary, may therefore fitly stand at the head of an introduction to the Correspondence.

Sir Henry ffarington, born 1471, was second son of Sir William ffarington of ffarington (see the *ffarington Pedigree*, C. S. vol. xxx. p. 74). In the Visitation of Lancashire for 1533 he is entered as Sir Henry Faryngton of Faryngton, and is said to have "maryed Anne, dowghter to William Radclyffe of Wordesawle" (*ib.*, vol. cx. p. 114). [In the visitation of 1613 his wife is said to be "Ann, dau. of Sir Alexander Radclyff of Ordeshall" (*ib.*, vol. lxxxii. p. 19), but this lady married Sir Edmond Trafford (*ib.*, vol. lxxxi. p. 1).] His second wife was "Dorowthye, daughter of Humfrey Okeover" (*ib.*, vol. cx. p. 114), and it was by the issue of this second marriage that the family name was preserved. But as the estate of Farington had been settled upon the issue of his first marriage, that property passed through the heir female of his eldest son, William, into the family of Huddleston of Sawston, and it was at Worden, an estate he had purchased 26 Henry VIII., that the main line of the family came to be settled. [For a continuation of the pedigree see C. S. vol. lxxxii. p. 19; vol. lxxxv. p. 107.] After a life which extended over nearly eighty years, he was buried in Leyland church, where in 1524 he had endowed a chantry (C. S. vol. lx. p. 184), and where many of his ancestors rested.

Of his career some account has been given already in the *Stanley Papers* (C. S. vol. xxxi.), and from that volume it will be convenient to make some quotations. "Sir Henry ffarington was a zealous promoter of the views of Henry VIII., and affected to be a favourer of

the Reformation, being selected as one of the Crown Commissioners for the suppression of the monasteries, not less on account of his holding estates from the King and having the honour of being Chief Steward of the royal manors of Leyland and Penwortham, than from his being a lessee and supposed friend of the Abbot and Convent of Evesham. Appointed by the King to manage the spoils which had been ruthlessly grasped by the State, and, according to Fuller, none were losers employed in that service, he seems to have been, like the generality of the courtiers, sufficiently mindful of his own interests, having cautiously enlarged his estate and influence out of the wreck by which he was surrounded. Born in 1471, he was no longer a very young man when the designs and objects of the King began to develope themselves, but having held his office of Steward originally from Henry VII., and being officially connected with the Crown property in various parts of Lancashire, he was not exactly the individual to offer any resistance to the ruling powers. On the 21st May, 1528, the King confirmed the appointment of Sir Henry, whom he then styles 'Squier of our bodye,' as Steward of the manor of Penwortham, Leyland, Croston, &c., and commanded him to enjoin all the King's tenants within the said manors . . . to go forth to the wars with no leader but such as the Steward should enjoin. He was authorised to levy soldiers for the wars, to collect the royal rents and reliefs, to punish trespassers, to levy distresses, to indict misdemeanants, to preserve the game, to exact services of the tenants, to

maintain the ancient customs, and to defend the respective rights of the lord and his tenants. Armed with these large powers, it was found that the Præpositus of a royal manor ranked higher than the Steward of an ordinary vill, and that his influence was felt by the surrounding gentry sometimes to be inconvenient and at other times oppressive. He was engaged in more than twenty law suits, chiefly in the Chancery Court of the Duchy of Lancaster, and was probably never entirely free during a long life from the harassing and perplexing toils of the law." Amongst those against whom he proceeded was Sir Richard Hoghton, whose name will be found in the letters. "He was connected with the household of Edward Earl of Derby, and not improbably filled the office of secretary to that nobleman," as would appear from the documents published in this volume. A few particulars not referred to in the above account may be added. In the parliament of 1529 the members for Lancashire were Hen. Faryngton, And. Barton (L. & P. vol. iv. pt. iii. p. 2690), a fact which may help to determine the relations to the court of the two members (see Fried. vol. i. p. 100). Further, among those who, in connection with Anne Boleyn's coronation, received honours is found Sir Hen. Faryngton as a knight of the sword. In the list of those who were on the expedition against Salley occurs the name of Sir Henry Farington with a contingent of 212 men. When the last Abbot of Furness surrendered his monastery, Henry ffaryngton, Knight, is one of the witnesses to the deed of surrender,

and his name is found also at the end of the letter to the King, which accompanied the instrument.

Edward, third Earl of Derby (d. 1572; C. S. vol. lxxv. p. 5), who succeeded to the title on 23 May, 1521, was at that time only in his eleventh year. He became a ward of Cardinal Wolsey,¹ and in 1527 accompanied the Cardinal on his embassy to Calais. In 1531 he was amongst the peers who addressed the Pope in favour of the King's marriage and intimated that, should his Holiness refuse, a remedy would be sought elsewhere. In 1532 he accompanied Henry VIII. to Boulogne, when the meeting between Henry and Francis I. took place. In 1533 he conveyed Anne Boleyn in his own barge from Greenwich in order to her coronation, at which solemnity he was the cup-bearer. At this time he was created a Knight of the Bath. Sept. 10, 1533, at the christening of the lady Elizabeth, afterwards Queen, the Earl of Wiltshire and the Earl of Derby supported the royal infant's train. But in the following year, if Lord Darcy's report is to be believed, the Earl of Derby was prepared to risk the loss of Court favour. Chapuis, writing to Charles V. on Sept. 30, 1534, represents Lord Darcy as saying, that many noblemen of the north of England were

¹ Instead of fulfilling the trust reposed in him, the Cardinal took care to divest his young pupil of his just right, by securing to himself several large manors in the county of Lincoln, and elsewhere, which the Earl his father had held from the Crown by lease for life, which expiring on his death, the Cardinal took the opportunity of his ward's minority to procure grants thereof to himself.—*Hist. of House of Stanley.*

dissatisfied with Henry's proceedings in ecclesiastical matters, and were ready to join with Darcy in a general rising; the two noblemen mentioned by name as ready to take part in it were Lord Derby and Lord Dacre. Their readiness, however, was not put to the proof; and when in 1536 rebellion actually broke out, the Earl, as the following documents shew, proved a most loyal subject of the King. Yet he seems not entirely to have escaped suspicion. An unnamed correspondent writes to Cromwell in October of 1536,—“My lord, in my last letter I wrote that my lord of Derby was true to the king, and so I think he is yet” (L. & P., 859), which might seem to imply that Cromwell, at least, had not been without some doubts of the Earl; and in a letter of March 11, 1537, from Sussex to Cromwell, occurs the notice of “a letter supposed to be sent by my lord of Derby to Aske and my Lord Darcy in the late rebellione.” The writer proceeds, “Albeit I thinke the same is not true, yet nevertheles to thentent the kinges highnes may have comoditie nowe at Bigottes being in the Towre to knowe the certaintye, I sende thys tyme wythin a particuler lettre of myn to his highnes herewyth the said examinacions, beseching you, that it may be so brokyne, that no other person see them but the kinges highnes and your lordship, unto his graces ferder pleaser be therein knowne.”—*Annal. Furn.*, p. 344.

The Pilgrimage of Grace gave Lord Derby an opportunity of shewing his disposition towards the King; but at an earlier date in the year 1536, on an occasion which

should not be passed here without mention, he was found on Henry's side in a matter which the latter had much at heart. In 1533 he had taken a prominent part in the ceremonies attending Anne Boleyn's coronation, and, as the first of the papers now printed tells us, he had examined and sent for punishment the Lancashire priest who slandered the Queen. Three years later he was one of the peers who answered to their names, when the same Queen was put on her trial, of whom "being examined from the lowest peer to the highest, each severally saith that she is guilty," and who listened to the judgment, that she was "to be taken to prison in the Tower, and then at the King's command to the Green within the Tower, and there to be burned or beheaded as shall please the King."—(L. & P., 876.)

The part taken by the Earl in 1536 against those who wished to see the monasteries in the hands of their old possessors did not go unrewarded; and as will be seen by Part III. of the Correspondence, some of the monastic property fell to the share of one who was appointed a Commissioner for the dissolution of the religious houses.

His career after the events described in Part II. was a distinguished one. "In 1539 he was one of the lords in the King's own train at the reception of Anne of Cleves, in England, prior to her marriage with Henry VIII. In 1542 he marched into Scotland with the Duke of Norfolk with 20,000 men, and committed great devastation. In 1546, when the high admiral of France, accompanied by a great suite, came on an embassy to the King, the Earl

of Derby was specially commanded by his majesty to receive the distinguished guests at Blackheath, and conduct them to the court at Greenwich. In January, 1547, he was one of the mourners appointed to attend the funeral of Henry VIII. On the 17th February, 1546-7, he was elected Knight of the Garter, and installed on the 22nd May following. In 1550 he was one of the peers who signed the articles of peace made between Edward VI. and the Scots and French. On 8th August, 1553, the 'good Earl of Derby' came to London to the funeral of Edward VI. On 5th September, 1553, the Earl was appointed by Queen Mary, whose cause he warmly espoused against Lady Jane Grey, a judge delegate for sentence of Bishop Bonner's restitution to his see. Sunday, October 1, 1553, the Earl was appointed high constable of England at the coronation of Queen Mary. On the 19th July, 1554, he was one of the noblemen who attended on Philip II. on his arrival in England, in order to his marriage with the Queen. In March, 1555, George Marsh, the martyr, was brought before the Earl of Derby and the ecclesiastical council at Lathom, when the Earl closely examined him on controverted points of theology. The Earl afterwards said to Marsh, that he, Lord Windsor and Lord Dacre, who had been reputed advocates of the Reformation, had never consented to the acts of religion in the time of Edward VI. In 1557 the Earl of Derby received letters from the Earl of Shrewsbury authorising him to muster and prepare the inhabitants of the counties of Lancaster and Chester to be ready to repair to the

Earl, with his servants and tenants and such force as he should be able to make, to serve their majesties, in such order and place as the Earl of Shrewsbury should appoint. On the 20th September Shrewsbury wrote again to the Earl of Derby, lord-lieutenant of the counties of Lancaster and Chester, to let him know that the Scots intended with the whole force of Scotland to invade England, if not resisted. Therefore he required Lord Derby with all speed to come forward with the whole force of Lancashire and Cheshire, and to be with the said force at Newcastle on the 5th October. The Earl conducted the men of the two counties in such great numbers that the Queen, dreading the excessive charges, forbade the Earl to go forwards, and commanded him to keep his forces at home, but yet to remain in perfect readiness to come forward hereafter, if occasion required, upon any sudden warning. This good husbanding in this imminent danger did not much please the Earl of Derby. November 17th, 1558, Queen Mary died, and her successor prudently retained thirteen of the late Queen's Privy Councillors, amongst whom was the Earl of Derby; and on the 21st the Marquis of Winchester and the Earls of Shrewsbury and Derby were specially summoned, by mandate from the Queen sitting in council at Hatfield House, to attend her Majesty on her first entrance into London with all their train and servants."—*Funeral Certificates*, C. S. vol. lxxv. pp. 6–9. In Elizabeth's reign, however, perhaps because of his adherence to the Roman Catholic doctrine, he seems to have fallen under suspicion, and lived very much on his estates.

"He is described as kind to his dependents, liberal to the poor and to strangers, and skilled in surgery. He had the reputation of being addicted to the black art, and was said to keep a conjuror in his house. . . . He was especially famous for his sumptuous housekeeping. It was of him that Camden wrote, that at his death 'the glory of hospitality seemed to fall asleep.'"—*Visit. of Lanc.* 1533, C. S. vol. xcvi. p. 7.

He died in 1572, and the splendour of his funeral was in keeping with the magnificence in which had lived one of the greatest peers in the realm. An account of the ceremonial, which took place at Ormskirk, will be found in Collins's *Peerage*.

After this short account of the Earl, we may turn to the events of 1536 in which he played no unimportant part, and may try to learn from his Correspondence dealing with the Pilgrimage of Grace something of the course of proceedings when a great popular outbreak had to be suppressed. And here it may be not uninteresting to say a few words, by way of introduction, as to the forces which, when either insurrection at home or attack from abroad was threatening, could be called upon for service by the royal authority. The practice of making levies such as those mentioned in the letters is as early as the reign of Henry II., to which period the "commission of array" may be traced. The form of these commissions was settled by a statute of 5 Henry IV., in which year a commission of array was issued to certain persons named in each county, to whom it was assigned jointly and

separately to muster and train all and singular men at arms, armed men, and archers dwelling in each county, and to cause to be armed all those who are of able body and accustomed to arms, &c., to assign and apportion them; to distrain on all able in lands and goods, but weak and impotent of body, that they may provide and send, according to the quantity of their lands and goods, armour for men at arms, also armed men, and bows and arrows. Those who have been trained are to be kept together in thousands, hundreds, and twenties, and to be placed as well on the seacoasts, as elsewhere, wherever it is necessary to expel or destroy enemies. In the following reign, before the King left England for the expedition during which the battle of Agincourt was fought, he appointed commissioners of array in every county of England, to take a review of all the freemen able to bear arms, to divide them into companies under able captains and officers, and to keep them in readiness to march against an enemy. And, as a later instance of the same defensive measures, when danger was feared from Scotland, may be noted the commission, given by Henry VIII. in 1512 to the Earl of Surrey, to raise and muster all persons able to bear arms, in the counties of York, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, to arm them, review them, and to march them where he saw necessary to suppress the attempts of the Scots. (See also in this Correspondence the letter to Andrew Barton, and that to the Earl of Northumberland.)

From early times, too, dates the statute which provided that those who could be summoned to such military service should be properly equipped. By the statute of Winchester (13 Edward I.) it is commanded, "that every man have in his house harness to keep the peace after the ancient assize, viz., every man between fifteen and sixty years of age shall be assessed and sworn to armour, according to the quantity of their lands and goods." [The respective harness according to the value of property is then given.] "And in every hundred and franchise two constables shall be chosen to make the view of armour. And they shall present before justices assigned such defaults as they see in the country about armour . . . and the justices shall present at every parliament unto the King such defaults as they shall find, and the King shall provide remedy." It may be noticed, how certain of the subordinate characters who figure in the Correspondence are provided with harness. Hugh Parker and the ill-disposed persons with him appear at Percival Sanders's door "in harnes," and the party assaulted takes his "wepon." John Yate, too, when he accompanies the Piper to Bankes' house, puts on his harness, and the last-named, after refusing to be sworn to the commons, is asked to lend his harness, to which, according to Yate, he consented, giving the Piper his jack and salet. (See Letter No. xxix.)

In the 16th century the statute of Winchester was still unrepealed; the obligation to possess arms still existed, and the training and organisation which should

secure an efficient use of these were not neglected. Of such matters a very complete account is given in the Commission of Array of 1572. Perhaps the instructions contained in it are fuller than similar instructions would have been in 1536, but in the main it probably so far represents the practice of the earlier time, that it may be used to throw light on the composition and character of the forces led by the Earl of Derby or by the Earl of Shrewsbury, and for this purpose some of its particulars are here given.

The commission is for the muster and training of all men between the ages of sixteen and sixty, able for the wars, to serve on horseback or on foot. First, a general muster; then a sufficient number of the most able to be tried, armed, taught, and trained to use armour and weapons on horseback or on foot, and to exercise horses. Accordingly the commissioners are instructed to issue their precept to the constables of hundreds to summon every male, of all degrees and conditions, able to bear arms, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, in every parish, hamlet, and village, to appear at the general musters, at days and places fixed; the christian and surnames of all summoned to be set down in writing by the constables. Then the commissioners are to register the names of all who appear at the musters, with notes of their armour and weapons. None able to be exempt from personal service, save prelates, lords of parliament, and privy councillors. The clergy, and the judges and other officers of the Queen's courts of record in judicial
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places, not to attend, but to send their able servants and household men.

All imperfections of men, armour, furniture, &c., are to be noted on the first muster, and speedily remedied under the direction of certain persons within every hundred or division, so as to be ready for the next muster. Whereas always, from very ancient time, there hath been and still are a certain number of soldiers furnished with armour and weapons found at the common charge of every township or parish, the commissioners on the register of the general muster are to have special entries made apart of the numbers found by the parishes, in the muster-books, distinct from the others, that the number of each sort may appear. The commissioners shall cause the meaner sort of freeholders—franklins, farmers, or merchants—having not sufficient value of freehold or goods to provide one whole furniture of armour with weapons, to be induced to join together by two or three or more in the provision of a furniture, either of a pikeman, archer, or harquebusier. The commissioners to persuade all rich farmers and freeholders to keep in their houses persons meet for archery and shot, to be always ready, or else to be compelled to serve themselves.

When the full number of able men shall be known, and their qualities, and the quantity of armour and weapons seen in every division, the commissioners are to choose meetest persons for captains and petty captains, not forbearing any under the degree of a lord of parliament, to the charge of certain numbers, according to their qualities;

those of most worship, credit, and value to have the charge of more or less, according to their degrees—*i.e.*, some of the best worship of two or three hundred, others of meaner degrees and values in living to take charge under them of each hundred apart, and also with consent of the captains a charge to be made of skilful and expert persons to be lieutenants of every hundred, and necessary officers to govern and lead the said bands. As the training and exercise of a multitude in the use of armour and weapons may seem costly and chargeable, and as in many places it may not be necessary to have the whole number of able persons armed and weaponed, the commissioners after a general muster of the whole shire shall determine a convenient number in every part of the shire to be collected out of the total number, to be sorted in bands, trained and exercised, in such sort as may reasonably be borne at the common charge of the whole county.

Regard to be had in distributing weapons, in the sorting of the bands, that there be in every one hundred footmen at the least forty harquebusiers and twenty archers. The commissioners to promote by games and exercises the increased use of these two weapons ; foreseeing that the archers be men of strength, and so more able to shoot with the long bows.

When the number of each band shall be distributed to the captains and leaders, every captain shall have a special roll in writing of the names and surnames of those in his charge and leading. Every vacancy, by death or removal, to be speedily filled up.

The able men mustered, but not selected from the bands to be trained, shall be reduced into certain bands of one hundred each, under meet captains and officers, so as to be in readiness for general service, when called, with armour and weapon ; and to be mustered and arrayed before their captains at the least four times a year.

Similar provisions will be found in the orders for Deputy Lieutenants issued in the year 1589, in which they are told "to have an especial care to make their books so perfect as, upon any sudden occasion, they may from time to time make a present levy of such able and serviceable men as from the Lord Lieutenant shall be commanded and appointed." (See on the whole question the Introduction to *Lancashire Lieutenancy*, C. S. vol. xlix.)

By an organisation, some at least of whose details are indicated by the preceding extracts, the central authority endeavoured to secure the existence of a native force, which might be called out to resist either insurrection at home or attack from abroad. It is with an emergency of the former kind—with the insurrection called the Pilgrimage of Grace—that the letters now printed are much concerned, and by their help we may see to some extent, how the military machinery that had been constructed was set in motion, and how it served the purpose for which it was intended.

The first step was taken by the King, who having intelligence that "diverse traytors have lately assembled theymselfs together in Lyncolnshire and therabouts, and at

the wrytyng herof do yet remayn trayterously together," (No. i) despatched a letter to the Earl of Derby with orders, that upon receipt of it "ye shall soo prepair yourself and put al our people being their aboutt you in all those parties in suche a toward aredynesse, as, the case soo requiring, you may, wth all the force ye be hable to make, in your own person wayt upon us wth the same in such place as we shall lymyt upon our next letters" (*ib.*). In accordance with these general instructions the Earl at once communicated with the gentlemen "aboutt him" in the following terms:—"For my part I right hertly desir you, and nevertheles upon the Kinges behalf straitly charge and command you, that ye wth all hast and diligent spede do put yourself and all your cumpany in aredynes to serve his grace, and to be wth me at suche tym as it shall please his Highnes to command me by his next letters" (No. ii). Meanwhile events had happened, which called for the more definite directions that had been promised by the King in his first letter, and so the King, having made "our cosyn of Shrewsbury our Lieutenant," wrote to Lord Derby: "Our pleasur is, that you immedyately upon his advertisement put yourself and all your forces in aredynes, and marche as faste wth the same towards him as you can possible; using yourself at your cummyng unto him and befor in all things as he shall, being our Lieutenant, direct" (No. iii). Upon receipt of this second letter the Earl wrote to Shrewsbury for instructions, and at the same time brought under his notice the very important question of money (No. iv).

Further, he made preparation for giving to the gentlemen the definite information which he was expecting to receive (No. v).

So far the Lancashire contingent had been expected to form part of the general levy that was raised to oppose the main body of the rebels, but now matters took such a turn, that the Earl of Derby and his forces had their own special task assigned to them. "Ther hath byn," the King wrote to the Earl, "insurreccion and assemble lately attempted in the borders of Lancashir, specially about the Abbey of Salley and other partyes ther about, insomuche the Abbot and Monkes be agayn by the Traytors of that assemble restored to the possession of the said Abbey" (No. vii); so that the letter goes on "to command you, that gathering all your force together and callyng unto you all the Gentilmen of the cuntrey therabowts you shall immedyately upon the sight herof procede with the same to the repression of the said Rebellion" (*ib.*). The letter was accompanied by a commission in virtue of which "you shall levye our people and force in the partyes of Lancashir . . . and wth the same addresse yourself spedely to all suche places, wher any suche Rebellyon hath byn attempted, and ther ether to cause theym to submyt theymselves to our grace and mercy . . . or els to subdue theym wth suche force, extremytie and violence, as all other by their example may be war of like attemptats" (No. vi). The morning after the receipt of these documents the Earl took council with the "chief

Gentilmen of the Shire," when it was determined to proceed to Salley (No. ix). Now for the first time the Earl was able to send definite instructions to those who were to serve with him, and the letter to the Gentlemen now runs: "I charge and command you, that ye, with all suche company as ye be hable to make in harnes on fote, be wth me at Whalley on tuysday at nyght next cummyng, if it be possible, and that your cumpany bryng vytaill wth theym for V or VI days" (No. viii).

The forces, which in response to this summons were now under the Earl's command, were drawn from a wide area (some came from a distance of 33 miles, No. xxxi), amounted to the considerable number of 7,811 (*vide* L. & P. 1251, where the details are given), had been called together at short notice (the first letter to the Gentlemen is dated Oct. 14, the last Oct. 25), and came from a country where "the people be vere pore" (Nos. iv, xiii), which was barren, and where the commons and inhabitants were bare and scarce of money by reason of their charges in preparing themselves to do the King service (No. ix). Under such conditions it might be supposed, that the affairs of the commissariat would present serious difficulties. How these were to some extent avoided is in part explained by the instruction, quoted above, relating to the bringing of some days' supply of provisions, and by the terms of the King's commission to Lord Derby, which charge "all Mayers, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Constables and all other officers, mynysters, subgetts and true legemen" in Lancashire or its borders to see him

and his company for their "resonable money furnysshed with vytale" (No. vi).

The little army, which had thus been drawn together, was in the end disbanded without striking a blow at the foe it was to crush. There was no unwillingness to fight on the part of the leader, as his challenge to meet the rebels on Bentham Moor will testify (No. xiii), but, as will be seen in No. xii, circumstances made fighting unnecessary. The Earl, who might well feel vexation, that so much trouble and expense had been incurred with apparently little result, perhaps sought to console himself with the consideration, that, as the outcome of his levy, there might at least have been some benefit in the way of prevention. Writing to Henry he speaks of the rebels north of Lancaster, "who had intended, as yt is to be suspected, and as I do verely beleve, to have comen thro this Shir, yf they had not byn afrayd of me and other your true subgets assembled at Preston" (No. xii); though even such ground for comfort, if as such it may be taken, would not have been allowed him by Lord Darcy, who, writing to Shrewsbury on Oct. 31, says that the letters sent by the latter to the Earls of Derby and Cumberland, letters which had stayed the further proceedings against Salley, had been "the clear saving of the lives of the said earls" from the above mentioned northern rebels. (L. & P., 928.)

One further point may be touched on in connection with the conduct of the expedition whose course it has been attempted to trace, and that is the pay of those

who took part in it. Even at the beginning of the operations against the insurgents, want of money on the King's side had been sorely felt. The King had talked of selling all his plate (S. P., i. p. 478). "Rather thenne to wante, His Graces pleasure is," says Wrythesley to Cromwell, "youe shall goo to the Iuelhous in the Tower, and there take as moche plate, as you shall thinke His Grace shall not necessarily occupie, and put it strayte to coyning" (*ib.*, 482); and other evidence of want of funds for the payment of the expenses incurred on sending troops from the South may be found in the same correspondence. Naturally in the North, at a considerable distance from the Treasury, financial questions were not easier of solution. The country from which Lord Derby's forces came, as already remarked, was a poor one, ill able at its own charges to support the burdens of even a short campaign. Accordingly, the Earl is found at various times writing pressing for conduct money and wages to Shrewsbury (Nos. IV, XIII), to the King (Nos. IX, XIII), to Cromwell (No. x), and to Sussex (No. x a); and in his letter of Oct. 25 to the Gentlemen he assures them, that he expects the money will be with him "right shortly." But such hope proved unwarranted. On the 19th of November he wrote a letter to the Earl of Sussex, from which, says the King, writing to Derby, "we apperceyve that our good subiects in those parties (Lancashire) doo sumwhat cumplayn, that such charges as they have susteyned in putting theymselves in aredynes and reparing unto you, gevyng their attendance too execut that thing which were by you on our behalf

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to be commanded unto theym for the repression of the saides Rebelles, be not hitherto by us defrayed and discharged" (No. xxviii). If the letter to which the King refers gave an account of the circumstance which is mentioned by a correspondent of Lord Lisle writing on the 17th of November, that "as Lord Derby had raised certain persons in the King's behalf, who were discharged without pay, they set upon him and took such as he had" (L. & P., 1097), the sufferer from this summary method on the part of the King's good subjects for drawing their pay from his Lieutenant might think, that the words "sumewhat cumplayn" only imperfectly represented the actual state of affairs. However, after various promises steps were taken that the claims of loyal subjects might be satisfied in a more legitimate manner. On the day after he had written to Sussex, Lord Derby received a letter from the King, in which he says: "We have determynd to make a conveyent recompense to all our good subiects that went with you or were redy to serve us by your comandment," and in order to this "we desir you to cause all the Gentilmen and Townshippes that dyd then serve us to make unto you true certificat of the number of the men that every of them broght for that purpose. And the same to send us; declaring the distance of places in their travaill by your letters, and what recompense you think conveyent for every of them" (No. xxv). The same order is repeated later, when the King says: "We desir you to cause a boke to be made of the names of all suche persons as dyd prepare theymselves to serve us in your

late journey to Salley, lymytyng the distance of places from whens they cam and the number of the days they were furth" (No. xxviii). The "boke" was accordingly made, as far as material for it could be collected (No. xxxi), and a request sent, that a treasurer should be appointed for the payment of the various claims (*ib.*; see also L & P., 1251). Assuming that these claims were paid, we obtain the last stroke that is necessary to complete the outline sketch of the progress of an expedition to suppress insurrection in the middle of the 16th century.

The conduct of the leader in this instance appears in a very favourable light. Though he could draw together a considerable force from the district to which his commission applied, yet the state of popular feeling there was anything but uniformly loyal (No. xiii). The devotion to the cause they were called out to serve, even amongst those whom he led, seems to have been unable to bear the strain put upon it by delay in the matter of pay. It was no easy task that was laid upon the Earl of Derby, who, it should not be forgotten, was not yet thirty, and the difficulties of the position he had to face, and the disturbed condition of the country in which he had to act, receive many illustrations from his correspondence. At one time he hears how the rebels "dyd threte John Standyshe, servant to the Earle and now Mayor of Lancaster, to burne his house and spoile his goods, but if he wold cum to theym" (*ib.*); at another Sir Richard Hoghton sends him word, that "the Rebells of Dent, Sedbar, and those parties" intend to visit the house of Sir

Richard amongst others (No. xxii) ; the Prior of Cartmell, after being forcibly repossessed by the Commons, takes refuge with him at Preston (No. xiii), and another ecclesiastical refugee appears in the person of the Abbot of Furness (*ib.*). Sir Robert Bellyncham and divers other tenants and servants of the Earl were seized by the Commons, but managed to escape (*ib.*) ; while to avoid capture Lord Monteagle and Sir Marmaduke Tunstall are obliged to leave their houses between Lancaster and Westmoreland and join the Earl at Preston (*ib.*). In the Earl the rebels seem to have recognised an uncompromising opponent. "My Lord of Derby is determined to be against the Commons," writes Thomas Stanley to Lord Darcy. "The people are wholly with the commonalty, but he is very stiff" (L. & P., 807). The letter they send him by one of his servants, whom they had seized and sworn against his will to their party, was sent unopened to the King (No. xi) ; their leaders "desir and charge open payn of dethe" that none give aid to the Earl of Derby, but they decline his challenge to fight on Bentham Moor (No. xiii). Nor were his duties confined to times of active hostilities. He has, when truce is made, to be constantly on the watch, and ready to report disaffection or threatened risings (Nos. xxii, xxiv, xxvi, xxviii, xxx). On at least one occasion, it may well be thought, that he received the King's instructions with anything but pleasure. What could be the feelings of one who to the end remained a devout Catholic, when the command reached him, "if ye shall fynd the late Abbot and Monkes

of Salley remaynyng in the possession of the Howse, we woll then ye shall take the said Abbot and Monkes furth wth violence, and wthout any maner of delay, in their Monkes apparell, cause theym to be hanged up as moost arrant Traytors and movers of insurreccion" (No. vii)? Fortunately it did not fall to the lot of the author of the challenge to fight on Bentham Moor to superintend the execution of the monks of Salley, and the Derby Correspondence is not darkened by an eyewitness's account of a terrible tragedy.

But while the Correspondence is thus happily freed from tragedy, it does not conclude without furnishing some material for comedy. Spared the unpleasant task of presiding over executions at Salley, the Earl had to preside at the examination of certain humble sharers in, or sufferers from, the disturbances of the time, and there are points in the depositions (No. xxix) which might well have been seized and put to most effective use, had the author of *Kenilworth* laid the scene of a novel in the Lancashire of 1536. The proceedings of Hugh Parker, who, after having his head "rounded," gets into bad company at the alehouse patronised by the Piper, form a rather pleasant contrast in conclusion with the more serious matters that have previously occupied the Correspondence.

Before bringing this Introduction to an end, it should be remarked, that some of the documents, containing matter of the greatest interest, are not at all discussed here, because the subjects with which they deal, from

their importance, have already been treated very fully in works concerned with the general history of the country. The documents referred to are those in which the principles put forth by the promoters of the Pilgrimage of Grace are contained. As in the body of the work the object has not been to give any full account of the great northern insurrection, but only to furnish from the more extensive material a framework for the documents here published, so in the Introduction it is to the special rather than to the general points that attention has been directed. Where a county is playing a part in a great national drama, it is difficult, on the one hand, to concentrate the attention on the single actor and yet appreciate his action, and, on the other, to allow the attention a wider range and yet give due prominence to the individual. How far the Editor has succeeded in overcoming such difficulties, it is for those who read the work to judge.

T. N. T.

THE OWENS COLLEGE,

1889.

Correspondence of the Third Earl of Derby.

PART I.

THE first three letters, though from the evidence they afford of a spirit of disaffection in the North of England they are by no means entirely wanting in connection with those that follow, are yet sufficiently distinct to be treated separately. They contain the names of so many Lancashire places and of so many people connected with Lancashire, that as a piece of local history they may well claim attention; but they have a yet higher claim to notice as containing an authentic expression of a feeling, which, at the time when they were written, was entertained widely in England towards the most exalted personages of the realm. To speak at length of the relations between Henry, Katharine, and Anne Boleyn would be superfluous here; it may not be out of place, however, to recall one or two points which do not belong to local history, in an endeavour to illustrate the position of the "noghty" Lancashire priest.

In 1527, some time after Henry had been struck by the charms of Anne Boleyn, occurs the first serious notice in the State Papers of a divorce from Katharine.¹ That religious scruples, which for eighteen years had left Henry's conscience undisturbed, now rendered such a step necessary for his peace of mind, was a plea that might well be heard incredulously, even

¹ Fried., i. 49.

when Henry himself put it forward. He did indeed tell Audley, the Speaker of the House, that "he many times wished the marriage (with Katharine) had been good, but since the doctors of the universities had generally declared it unlawful, he could do no less than abstain from her company, which therefore he wished them to take as the true cause, without imputing it to any wanton appetite. . . . But for the brother to marry the brother's wife was so abhorr'd among all nations, that he never heard any Christian so did but himself; and therefore wish'd them to believe that his conscience was troubled."¹ But as at the very beginning of the proceedings for a divorce the desire to marry Anne had been admitted to the Papal officials,² he could hardly hope, that such a declaration would carry conviction to the country. In the absence of such conviction the King might well fail to win the popular feeling to his side. The long-sustained attack upon one to whose charge no fault could be laid, the means by which it was sought to obtain a decision favourable to the King—the bullying or bribing of bishops and universities—the unsatisfactory character of the final stages of the cause, when Cranmer's court was held—all these might well arouse, and subsequently confirm, the sympathy for Katharine. "The Queen wanted not those who defended her cause publicly . . . and privately in discourse (especially women)."³ Nor was this sympathy in danger of being withdrawn, when its object was compared with her rival. At times even Henry was obliged to compare Katharine and Anne to the disadvantage of the latter. "Elle (Anne) devient tous les jours plus fiere et plus brave, usant de parolles et auctorite envers le Roy de quoy il sest plaint plusieurs foyes au duc de Norphoc, disant quelle nestoit point de la condicion de la Royne, laquelle en sa vie ne luy avoit dict mauvaise parolle."⁴ Anne quarrelled with her uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, and drove him to side with her enemies; she

¹ Herbert, p. 484 (Murray's Reprint).

² Fried., i. 65.

³ Herbert, p. 483.

⁴ Fried., i. 134, n.

was estranged from her father ; she offended many by her insolence. Her reputation could ill bear comparison with that of Katharine. For though Wolsey could write to the Pope of "her excellent virtuous qualities, the purity of her life, her constant virginity, her maidenly and womanly pudicity, her soberness, . . . and her other infinite good qualities,"¹ yet others could give a less favourable account. There was the story of her betrothal to Percy, and, not at all in keeping with the Cardinal's description, the statement of the Duke of Suffolk, that she had been the mistress of one of his gentlemen ;² while towards the end of 1532, when she became Marchioness of Pembroke, she appears to have become the mistress of the King. To a churchman,³ even more than to a layman, would she be obnoxious ; it was by her party that the clergy were attacked,⁴ and she it was who by many was regarded as the principal author of heresy in England.⁵

The feelings entertained by the partisans of Katharine while the matter was still in suspense must have been intensified, when the marriage, which took place about January 25, 1533,⁶ became known ; and any who before had been indifferent must now have been forced to decide between the claims of Katharine and Anne. In the instructions to be declared to Katharine, July 3,⁷ it was said, that the King could not have two wives, and with this all were ready to agree ; but seeing that many did not agree with the description of the earlier marriage, that it was "detestable, abominable, execrable, and directly against the laws of God and nature"—the terms applied to it in the same instructions—the conclusion arrived at by the King was not accepted by all his subjects. Katharine herself, when these instructions were communicated to her, replied, "that as she

¹ Fried., i. 67.

² *Ib.*, 46, 121.

³ See account of Peto's sermon before the King, Camden Society, New Series, vol. xxi. pp. 202 *sqq.*

⁴ Fried., i. 142.

⁵ *Ib.*, 12.

⁶ Ellis's *Original Letters*, ii. p. 39.

⁷ L. & P., 759.

knew assuredly she was the King's true wife, she would never call herself otherwise than Queen, or answer to any other name, to any person in the world."¹ Her position must have been in the eyes of many, especially in the eyes of churchmen, confirmed by the Pope's sentence (July 11), which declared the divorce from Katharine and marriage with Anne null; and pronounced the King to have incurred the greater excommunication.² To many Katharine remained Queen, "the good Queene Katharin,"³ and her popularity continued undiminished. When, in July, by the King's order, she was removed from Ampthill, "all the neighbourhood assembled to see her and pay her honour; and it is incredible what affection has been shown to her along the whole roade. Notwithstanding it has been forbidden on pain of death to call her Queen, they shouted it out at the top of their voices, wishing her joy, repose, and prosperity, and confusion to her enemies. . . . They were ready to die for the love of her."⁴ Even the partisans of the marriage were obliged to allow that "there be in this realm that be not in their minds full pleased and contented that our Sovereign hath married as he hath done, some bearing their favour to the lady Katheryn princess dowager."⁵

And while proofs of favour towards Katharine were frequent, the proofs of an opposite feeling towards her successful rival were not wanting. . At the very hour of her triumph, at her coronation, not only was there no enthusiasm for her, but dissatisfaction found active expression. "Though it was customary to kneel and uncover and cry God save the King, God save the Queen, whenever they appeared in public, no one in London or the suburbs, not even women and children, did so at the coronation. One of the Queen's servants told the mayor to command the people to make the customary shouts, and was answered, that he could not command people's hearts, and that even the

¹ L. & P., 805.

² *Ib.*, 807.

³ Wriothesley's *Chronicle*, Camden Society, New Series, vol. xi. p. 17.

⁴ L. & P., 918.

⁵ *Ib.*, 738.

King could not make them do so." ¹ In the pageant erected by the merchants of the Steelyard Anne was insulted, and by the like means some of the English merchants contrived to express disloyalty.²

So unpopular, indeed, was the marriage, that, according to Chapuys, "The King, seeing that, notwithstanding the orders against it, people will speak of (against?) this marriage, has made a proclamation, that those who inform against persons so speaking shall have a certain sum of money; and, further, for fear of creating greater sedition, both religious men and others have been forbidden to preach without licence of the bishop of London, who, as one of the principal promoters of this divorce, allows whom he pleases to speak."³ Whether it was owing to a hope of such reward, or no, a number of cases similar to that of Harrison were brought to the notice of the authorities, and some of these may be quoted as illustrating the prevalence of the feeling which prompted the remarks of the Lancashire priest. Thus a Welsh clerk, on July 4, 1533, "wished the King on a mountain in North Wales called Snoyden Hill, and that he would souse the King about the ears till he had his head soft enough."⁴ From St. Albans, on Sept. 13, comes a messenger to Cromwell with a report from the abbot of certain words spoken by a wretched person against the honour of the King, the Queen, and the Princess.⁵ On Oct. 10, Robert Borett, late of London, confesses having said, in the presence of Sir John Waynwright, vicar of Norton, that the Queen was a churl's daughter, and also that she was a whore.⁶ At Rye, Oct. 23, there is an examination of a friar and a priest, accused of speaking seditious words against the King and Queen.⁷ The abbot of Rewley writes to Cromwell, that the youngest of the convent has accused one of his brethren, called Norton, of

¹ L. & P., 585.

² Fried., i. 206.

³ L. & P., 541.

⁴ *Ib.*, 790.

⁵ *Ib.*, 1122.

⁶ *Ib.*, 1254.

⁷ *Ib.*, 1329.

treason, because Norton said he had read a certain sentence of Agrippa in his book *De Vanitate Scientiarum* which was against the King's marriage, and Norton repeated it.¹ In the same direction point the "ungracious rehearsals" made at divers times by Mrs. Amadas, *e.g.*, "She rejoiced when the Tower was made white, for she said shortly after my lady Anne should be burned, for she is a harlot. . . . That there was never a good married woman in England except prince Arthur's dowager, the Duchess of Norfolk, and herself. That if the Queen be not burnt within this half year, she will be burnt herself."² To these trivial notices, which are connected with the great events of 1533, may be added a case of greater importance, as well from the character of some who were accused of complicity in it as from its tragic issue—that of the Maid of Kent, Elizabeth Barton. In the case of Harrison the penalty, it may be inferred, was not so severe, but beyond a notice of the expenses involved in his removal to London (To Giles Lever and others 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* in reward for conveying Sir Jas. Harryson clk., accused of treason, from Faryngton, Lanc., to London. L. & P., 1057) I have found no trace of him subsequently.

Turning from the more to the less important characters mentioned in these letters, it may be noticed in passing, that some of the names here seen together are elsewhere found associated: their connection with the district of Leyland is of long standing. Thus Thomas de Holcrofte and Thomas de Lathom are found together in a document of 7 Richard II.;³ a Sir R^d Hoghton of the 14th century marries a grand-daughter of a Bannastre;⁴ while a little later than the date of the letters, the individuals therein named—Sir W^m Leyland, Sir R^d Hoghton, Thomas Holcroft, Sir Hy. Faryngton—are found engaged together in the affairs of Furness Abbey.⁵ For further particulars of these see the notes.

¹ L. & P., 1677.² *Ib.*, 923.³ *Lanc. Inquisitions*, C. S., xciv. p. 11.⁴ *Coucher Book of Whalley*, C. S., x. p. 15.⁵ *Annal. Furn.*, pp. 347-8.

I.

[This letter will be found published *in extenso* in Ellis's *Original Letters*, 1st Series, vol. ii. p. 41, and in *Inventories of Church Goods*, C. S., cxiii. p. 69. Abstracts of it are given L. & P., 964, and in Hist. MSS. Commission Report, vi. 444. See also Froude, c. 5. In the MS. it occurs after the letter to Cromwell, Part III., No. 53.]

A Lre to the Kyngs grace concernyng certeyn deposiçõs and sayings of suche persons as herd Sr Jamys Harison chapleyn speke diverse vnfytyng and slaunderous words¹ aswell by² the Kyngs highnes as the Quenes grace.

Pleasith youre highnes to be aduertised, that wher as Syr Willm ffitzwillm³ knyght, on of your counsailo⁹s and treasurer of your most honorable howse, lately directed his seuerall lres to

¹ For the significance of the term "slaunderous" here, cf. the Act of 1534, in the preamble of which it is said, that "any that should divulge any thing to the slander of the King's marriage . . . were to be adjudged for misprision of treason, and to suffer imprisonment at the King's will, and forfeit all their goods and chattels to him."—Burnet's *Reformation*, i. 295.

² In the oldest stage of the language this preposition was the most usual word for expressing Lat. *de*, and long retained this sense. It is found in Shakspeare, e.g., How say you *by* the French lord?—*M. of V.*, i. 2. As a further illustration of the use here a later passage in this volume may be quoted. In No. xxx. of the next part it is said: "If any maner of person do speke any unfytyng or sklenderous words by the Kings Highnes or by any of his most honorable Counsaill."

³ Sir William Fitzwilliam had been made Treasurer of the Household in 1526 (L. & P., vol. iv. part i. p. 864), and after the fall of Wolsey, when Sir Thomas More resigned the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster for that of England, he received, in addition to the office he already held, that which was vacated by More (Nov. 3, 1529). For a reference to his connection with the Duchy in this capacity see No. 51 in Part III. He went ambassador to France in 1521, and in the following year was vice-admiral under the Earl of Surrey (see the account of him, L. & P., vol. iii. Part I., pp. cliii. sqq. ccxv). Afterwards he was Lord High Admiral (see the letters addressed to him, Part III., Nos. 62, 63). In 1537 he was made Earl of Southampton. (For a list of the offices he filled and of the honours he received see Doyle's *Baronage*, vol. iii. p. 368-9.) In 1533 he appears

8 *Correspondence of the Third Earl of Derby.*

vs your humble subgetts and ſuants Edward Erle of Derby¹ and Sr Henry ffaryngton² knyght, wherby we perceyue your graces pleas^r is, that a lewde and noghty preist inhabytyng in these partyes, who hathe reported of late and spoken befor and in the audyence of certeyn persons sundry and dyuerse vnfittyng and slaunderous words, as well by yo^r highnes as the Quenes grace, shuld not only be attached and send vp to your highnes, but also that we shuld, in the accomplishment of your said pleas^r, take examynaçoⁿs and sayngs of suche persons as were present and herd the said vnfytyng and sklenderous reports and sayngs of the said Preist in the premisses; and the same to sende in w^otyng vnto your grace subscribed wth our hands: We accordyng to our bound dutyes, in the accomplyshement of your graces pleas^r, haue called before vs suche persons, whose names and deposiçoⁿs herafter do ensue; And the same persons dyd examyn at Ley, in the Countie of Lancastre, the x day of

to have been on very good terms with Cromwell. In a letter written July 3 of that year he begins by telling Cromwell that "my wife hath sent unto you at this tyme a disshe of fflowle of her owne fattyng," and ends with an invitation quite in keeping with his character as a sportsman. "If it maye please you to take the payne to bee with mee in these parties for your recreac'on, before my reatourne to the Court . . . surely I wold bee right glad thereof, and to me ye shalbe as right hertely welcome as your owne herte can desire. And though percaas ye cannot conveniently bee with me before my said reatourne, yet I praye you not to faille to come after my departure, and to bring with you the Attorney of the Duchie and iij or iiij other good fellowes, such as ye can bee contented to bee merry withall: where ye shall fynde my wif and broder: unto whom I am assured ye shall not oonly bee right hertely welcome, but also I trust and doubt not but that they will make you as good passetyne in hunting as they can possibly devise. As our Lord knoweth, who sende you as well to doo as I wold my self."—Ellis's *Letters*, 3rd Series, vol. ii. p. 277. When the insurrection in the North of England broke out Fitzwilliam was active in the measures taken to suppress it. Richard Cromwell, writing to Cromwell on Oct. 11 about the Lincolnshire rebels, says: "My lord Admiral is so earnest in the matter that I dare well say he would eat them with salt" (L. & P., 658). Later on he was one of the commissioners for settling the terms of agreement with the rebels. See, *inter alia*, S. P., vol. i. p. 498; L. & P., 1205.

¹ See Introduction, p. v.

² *Ib.*, p. ii.

August, in the xxvth yere of your moost noble reign, Sr Richard Hoghton,¹ Sr Willm Laylond² knyghts, and Thomas Howcroft³

¹ Sir Richard Hoghton of Hoghton, but also of the Lea (*Hist. of Chantries*, C. S., lix. 105 n., lx. 195. By his first wife he had "Ley Hall"—*Visit. of Lanc.* 1533, C. S., xcviil. 48; it was there that in 1589 his son Thomas was killed, see Baines, iii. 346), was thirty-one years of age in 1500 (*Lanc. Inquisitions*, C. S., xcix. 130). In June, 1533, among the knights made is Sir Richard Houghton (L. & P., 601); he was knight of the shire 1 Edward VI., and died in 1558. He was buried at Preston, as appears from the will of one of his sons, Alexander, who desires in it his "bodye to be buryede in the p'yshe church of Preston soe near that place where my ffather Sr Rycharde Houghton knyghte and Dorothee my wyffe doe lye buryede as convenyentt may be" (*Wills and Invent.*, C. S., li. 237). His domestic relations were so much after the manner of the King's, that it might be doubted, whether, in a case in which Henry's matrimonial affairs were concerned, he would prove an impartial judge. His first wife was Alice, daughter of Sir T. Assheton, she being twenty-two years old in 1519 (*Visit. of Lanc.* 1533, C. S., xcviil. p. xii.; *Lanc. Inquis.*, C. S., xcix. 172); but according to the visitation of 1533 "The said Sr. Ric. hath putt away his lady and wife and kepeth a concobyne in his house, by whom he hath divers children." The visitor was perhaps rather glad to be able to record a circumstance not particularly creditable to one of whom he goes on to say "he gave Mr. Garter an angle noble, but he gave me nothing nor made me no good chere, but gave me proude words" (C. S., xcviil. 48). In the visitation of 1567 three subsequent marriages are recorded, and in each case the wife is said to be a yeoman's daughter (C. S., lxxxi. 25). The last of them is said to be Anne, daughter of Roger Brown, by whom there were no children. [In C. S., xcviil. 51, this Anne is said to be Sir Richard's mistress, by whom he had a daughter, Elizabeth, married Robert Talbot of Ribchester, an illegitimate offshoot of Talbot of Salesbury. In connection with this point it may be noted, that Sir Richard Hoghton is supervisor of the will (written 28 Aug. 1552) of John Talbot of Salesbury, the testator bequeathing to him for his trouble his "beste gowne" (*Wills and Invent.*, C. S., liv. 105). Further, in April, 1556, John Talbot of Salebury is mentioned as being one of the parties to a bond held by Sir Richard Houghton (*ib.*, p. 122), and in 35 Henry VIII. Sir Richard Houghton grants the next presentation of Ribchester (*Hist. of Chantries*, C. S., lx. 195-6.) In 1553-4 he permits a presentation to Ashton (*ib.*, C. S., lix. 105). In 1557, when measures were being taken to array the Lancashire levies, "he is not able to go himself, and so doth furnish but 100 men" (*Lanc. Lieut.*, C. S., xlix. 16). Several notices of him will be found in other parts of the Correspondence.

² Sir William Leyland of Morley. See the Visitation of 1533 (C. S., xcviil. 88), that of 1567 (C. S., lxxxi. 131), and Baines, iii. 601. He is mentioned later in the Correspondence as being present at a somewhat similar examination (Part II. No. xxix). He, in company with Sir Henry ffarryngton, was a witness to the document in which the last abbot of Furness surrendered his monastery into the King's hands (*Annal. Furn.*, p. 347).

³ Thomas Howcroft (Holcroft), afterwards Sir Thomas Holcroft of Vale Royal

your ſvants and other of the Counsaill^r of me the ſaid Erle being preſent wth vs. And the ſaid Sr Henry hathe attached the ſaid Preiſt and ſend him to your Highneſſe.

² For remarks on the Council of the Earl of Derby ſee *Stanley Papers*, C. S., xxxi. pp. iv. ſqq., and the introductory remarks to Part. III. of the preſent volume.

(*Not. Cest.*, C. S., viii. 62; *Visit. of Lanc.* 1533, C. S., xcvi. 85), was the ſecond ſon of John Holcroft of Holcroft Hall, near Leigh (Baines, iii. 129). He married Juliana, daughter and heiress of Nic. Jennings of London, was knighted at Leith in 1544, and appears to have died before 1559. In the will of Sir John Holcroft the elder, dated 2 Dec., 1559, it ſpeaks of certain payments to be made “unto the heyres of Sir Thomas Holcroft knyght deceſſed” (*Wills and Invent.*, C. S., xxxiii. 152). [This was Sir John’s brother, but, *Stanley Papers*, C. S., xxxi. 103, he ſeems to be taken as the father.] He was an eſquire of the body to Henry VIII. (Queen Margaret, writing to Henry, ſays ſhe has received his letters and tokens by Thomas Holcroft ſewer, L. & P. 1534, p. 571), and the name of Holcrofte is given among the liſt of knights and gentlemen who were to be ſervitors at Queen Anne’s coronation (*ib.*, 1533, p. 246). At the coronation of Edward VI. he was made knight of the Bath, and during part of that King’s reign was receiver of the duchy of Lancaſter; but falling with Somereſet, he was, on Oct. 16, 1551, “had to the Tower” (Camd. Soc., xlii. p. 10), and in 1552 was deprived of his office (*Stanley Papers*, C. S. xxxi. 103; Camd. Soc., lxxii. p. 188). By Mary he was made Knight Maſhal, in which office he ſeems to have favoured the Proteſtants (Camd. Soc., lxxii. pp. 188, 210). When evil days came upon the monaſteries, he appears to have been very active in improving the time, and to have earned thereby the gratitude of at leaſt one of his contemporaries. In the will of John Braddill of Whalley, May 31, 1575, the teſtator leaves money “to my powreſte neigburs to cauſe them to pray for . . . Sir Thomas Holcrofte knight” and others, “who were all my ſpeciall good maiſtres wth whom I ſerved during their lyves, and moſte ſpeciallly for Kinge Henry the Eight . . . by whom my firſte riſinge and gaine was gotten by byenge and ſelling of landes [e.g. thoſe of Whalley, *Coucher Book of Whalley*, C. S., x. p. x.] and other diſverſe bargaines” (*Wills and Invent.*, C. S., li. 107). Of ſuch traffic as the will refers to there might be plenty at the time of the diſſolution for a ſervant of Thomas Holcroft. As early as the year 1533 he is beginning to trouble Furneſſ, whoſe laſt abbot wrote to Cromwell, that “therle of Cumberlande and oone Sandford and Hollecrofte by great importunate ſuteltyſ and meanes wollde have and occupie the lordſhip of Wynterbourne and other twoo fermes belonging to his (the abbot’s) monaſtery.”—*Annal. Furn.*, p. 340. Later, when Furneſſ is diſmantled, Southwell, writing to Cromwell July 3, 1537, ſays, he “hath referride all to M^r Holcroft who hath taken apone hym the hole deſcription thereof at his next repayre to the Court yf it ſhall pleaſe the Kyng to cummande hym, and if ther ſhal be ony good fee annexide therto, I thynke he ſhalbe intreatyde with ſmal difficulte to take it himſelf; he hath bene very diligent here, for the which he whas put only in truſt to pluck down the Church.”—*ib.*, p. 360. In the following year his

The Depositions.

Sir Richard Clerke¹ Vyker of Leghe deposethe and saith, that at Croston in the howse of John Blackestons the xxi² [xx ?] day of July Anno xxv [he] red a proclamacon concernyng Lady Katharyn, Princesse Dowager,³ that Sir Jamys Harrison hering the said proclamacon said, that Quene Katharyn was Quene, and that Nan Bullen shuld be no Quene, nor the King to be no King, but on his beryng.⁴

name is found in connection with the affairs of another religious house, the abbey of Vale Royal, whose abbot, writing Sep. 9 to Cromwell, seems to imply that Maister Holcroft had forged a deed of surrender of the abbey (Camd. Soc., xxvi. p. 244). The site of the abbey and other lands in the end came into Holcroft's hands for the sum of £450 10s. 6d. (*Not. Crst.*, C. S., viii. 88 n.). Other cases of his dealings may be noted when grants are made to him of the manors of Billington (*ib.*, C. S., xxi. 287), Over (*ib.*, C. S., viii. 251), Weverham (*ib.*, 62, 360), of Earnslow Grange (*ib.*, 265), of the priory and demesne lands of Cartmel (*ib.*, C. S., xxii. 567), of the priory of S. Mary, Lancaster (*ib.*, 573); and later, 2 Mary, the site, cell, and domains of Lytham are granted to him (*ib.*, 575).

¹ For an account of him see *Invent. of Church Goods*, C. S. cxiii. 66. In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, v. 231, the chantry at Croston, "ex fundac'one Katherine Tarleton," is "in manibus Ric' Clerke cap^{al}." See also *Hist. of Chantries*, C. S., lix. 168.

² The xx day of July was a Sunday, and this is the date given in other copies of the depositions.

³ "The 12th day of Aprill 1533 . . . Anne Bulleine, Marques of Pembroke, was proclaymed Queene at Greenewych . . . And the Wednesdale before (April 8) the good Queene Katherin was deposed at Hanthill (Amphill) . . . and from that daie after to be called Ladie Katherin, wife of Prince Arthur, dowarie of Englande."—Wriothesley's *Chronicle*, p. 17, Camd. Soc., New Series, xi. Chapuys, writing to Charles V., gives a rather fuller account of this incident. After the departure of the commissioners, Lord Mountjoy, the Queen's Chamberlain, came to tell her, that the King would not allow her henceforth to call herself Queen (L. & P., No. 351, p. 167). This prohibition was repeated to her on July 3 (*ib.*, No. 760), but Katharine, so far from acquiescing, showed her determination to decline the new title by striking out with pen and ink from Mountjoy's report the name of Princess Dowager wherever she found it there (*ib.*, 765). Upon the failure of these steps an edict was published declaring the deposition of Katharine (see Chapuys to Charles V., July 11, L. & P., No. 805, p. 356), and it was this proclamation, which brought trouble upon Sir James Harrison.

⁴ Bearing, which now is confined to the sense *mien*, *deportment*, had, as the verb

Sir Jamys Haworth¹ deposith that he herd the said Sir Jamys saye, that Quene Kat^yn shuld be Quene, And as for Nan Bullen who the Devill made her Quene, and as for the Kyng shall not be king but on his beryng.

William Dalton Squyer deposith and saith, that after that on Sr Richard Clerke had red the said proclama^on, [he] red certeyn Artycles in the said proclama^on to the said Sr Jamys wth certeyn persons ther being present; The said Sr Jamys said: "I will take non for quene but quene Katharyn; who the Devill made Nan Bullen, that hore, quene, for I will neuer take her for quene, and the kyng of his bering." And the said Willm said: "hold thi peace, thou wots not what thou says, and but thou art a pⁱst I shuld punyshe the y^t other shuld take insample."

Deverse other² depose and afferme ut supra.

bear still has, a rather wider meaning—*behaviour, conduct*. Cf.

You have found,

Scaling his present bearing with his past,

That he's your fixed enemy.—*Cor.*, ii. 3 (at end).

But on his beryng = *unless he behave himself well*. Cf. this passage from a later document of the Correspondence: "They to put suffycient suerty to be of good abering to the said fforest & game" (Part III., No. 44).

¹ John (?). On Jan. 17, 1486, John Haworth was presented to the chantry of S. Michael at Huyton by Thomas Asheton of Croston.

² The diverse others are John Dalton the elder, Thomas Lathom the younger, Jamys Woddes, Adam Banaster, Richard Sumner, and John Clayton (see *Invent. of Church Goods*, C. S., cxiii. pp. 69-70). Thomas Lathom of Parbold, perhaps the son of William Lathom of Parbold, who was living 12 Henry VIII. (*Not. Cert.*, C. S., xxi. p. 170). He married Anne, daughter of Richard Osbaldeston (*Visit. of Lanc.* 1567, C. S., lxxxi. 34). The Lathoms and Stanleys had common ancestors.—Baines, iii. 479. Adam Banaster: Adam seems a favourite name among the Banasters. There is an Adam Banaster in Edward II.'s reign (*Inquisitions*, C. S., xcv. 16); another in Richard II.'s (*ib.*, 14); another in Henry V.'s (*Visit. of Lanc.* 1533, C. S., cx. 127); and again in 1567 there is an Adam Banaster of Bankhall living (*Visit.* 1567, C. S., lxxxi. 67).

II.

A Lre to Sr Willm ffitzwillm concernyng the same.

Cosyn, in my moost herty maner I recomend me to you, right glad to here of your good welfar ; Certyfying you, that I and Sr Henry ffarington knyght, perceyvying by your severall lres to vs directed, that it was the Kings pleas^r, y^t we shuld send vp to his Highnes an Examyna^on by vs takon towching the sklaunderous sayings of on Sr Jamys Harrison, preist, anends the kyngs highnes and the quenes grace, whiche examyna^on I and the said Henry haue send vnto you herein closed, desiring you, that the same may be presented vnto his highnes by your hands or by the hands of my ſuant this berer, as ye shall thynke moost conuenyent. And thus I pray to God to send you as well to fare as I wold myself. At &c.

III.

A Lre to Willm Dalton squyer ōcernyng this mater.

Welbeloved, I grete you well. And wher it is soe, that it is alleged, that sune of yo^r tenⁿts or ſvants shuld be present, when a lewd Preist shuld speke raylyng and vnfytyng words, as well anends the Kyngs highnes as the Quenes grace, I desire you and in the Kings name co^mmande you, that ye endevo^r you and do as moche as in you lyeth to cause as many of suche of the said persons as Sr Henry ffaryngton knyght shall name vnto you to be and personally to appere before me at Ley, Sir Richard Hoghton is house, on Sunday next by ii of the cloke, wher they shall forther know of my mynd and pleas^r and (on ?) this behalf ; at whiche day and tyme I wold have you also to be wth me. ffaile ye not herof wthout makyng any feaned excuses of their absens. And thus fare ye well. At Whalley.¹

A like Lre to the Vyker of Croston concernyng the same.

¹ For the Earl's connection with Whalley, see No. VIII, in Part II.

PART II.

THE preceding documents, if considered by themselves, might seem to deal with a matter of little significance ; but, taken in connection with after events, they may be seen bearing witness to a spirit of disaffection that, undismayed by the means used to suppress it, soon ceased to content itself with abusive or seditious words against King or Queen, and prompted a rebellion, that at one time seemed to threaten with defeat the utmost power which could be opposed to it.¹ The old occasions of offence, whose existence they betray, were unremoved, and new ones arose. In the year following that in which they were written, the Lancashire priest's threatening words, that the King should be King only "on his beryng," get ominous confirmation in those of the Middlesex priest, that "three parts of England be against the King, as he shall find if he need."² Nor was it only in words that dissatisfaction found expression. In this year (1534) a conspiracy³ was formed against the King, in which many of the nobility were engaged ; among the names mentioned being some—*e.g.*, those of Lords Darcy and Hussey—which occur frequently in connection with the Pilgrimage of Grace. The same year, too, saw the passing of the Act of Supremacy, a step that tended to weaken the allegiance of those who adhered to the old order. The beginning of the succeeding year again found many nobles ready to invite the Emperor to aid an insurrection in England ;⁴ and the upholders of the ancient faith were yet further alienated by the executions of the Carthusians, of Fisher,

¹ For the serious danger from the rebellion *cf.* L. & P., Nos. 1226-7, where Henry speaks of the "desperate sort" in which Norfolk, Fitz-William, and others, write to him ; and again to the same effect No. 1271.

² Froude, vol. ii. p. 214.

³ Fried., ii. 30, 31.

⁴ *Ib.*, 58.

and of More. Other causes for discontent existed in the unsettled condition of English trade with foreign countries that was brought about by Henry's policy ;¹ while at home yet another was found in a bad harvest, the deficiencies of which could not now be readily supplied from abroad, and which—by some, at least—was regarded as a mark of divine vengeance for the King's misdeeds. The position of affairs was the more dangerous that the Pope was attempting to give effect to the bull of excommunication and deprivation against Henry, that had been read in consistory on Nov. 10.² Rebellion was imminent ; indeed, plans for carrying off the Princess Mary, and after that for raising an insurrection, were made in the beginning of 1536. These, however, failed, and it was not until the autumn of the same year that the storm, which had been long in gathering, actually broke.

To give here a detailed account of the origin and progress of the Pilgrimage of Grace is not necessary ; such an account will be sought elsewhere.³ All that will be attempted is to show the connection of the documents here printed with the general history of the rebellion, whose course is only partially to be traced in them.

Though not first in order of time, the communication made by the Earl of Derby to the King, given in Nos. XIV–XIX, may be first noticed, as showing some of the causes for a discontent which sought a remedy by rebellion. The North of England was still of the same mind as the Lancashire priest, and, adhering to ancient forms, “intended principally” in the Pilgrimage “the defence of the Faith, which by certeyn Heretykes was abhominably confounded.” But not only in matters of doctrine or practice was there ground for complaint. In the months of January and February of this year (1536) the visitation of the

¹ Fried., ii, 117.

² Cf. L. & P. 1536, No. 1160, for the use made of this bull at a later period.

³ See, *inter alia*, Froude's *History*, c. 13, and Letters and Papers, for reign of Henry VIII., vol. xi. To the latter frequent reference is made.

Northern Province had been made, and upon the report which followed an act had been passed giving all religious houses with a yearly revenue not exceeding £200 to the King. Hence a second article in the list of grievances was the cruel spoiling and suppression of holy places, and redress was demanded by the restitution of those who had been dispossessed. Vexatious taxation, too, was anticipated, and the land was troubled by evil counsellors; "vileyn blodde" was to be found in the King's "privy Counsaill," and to expel this was one of the objects of the Pilgrimage.¹ The exasperation that came from the feeling of such wrongs had brought the country to a state in which one instance of violence finds general imitation: the inflammable material had long been accumulating—there wanted now but the spark which should kindle it, and in the autumn of the year this fell.

It was in Lincolnshire that the flame first burst forth. The Commons about Horncastle began to assemble on Saturday, Sep. 30,² but were preceded in the course of violence by the people of Louth. At that town the report was current, that the jewels and ornaments of parish churches should be taken away, and on Sunday, Oct. 1, the day before the expected arrival of the King's Commissioners, when the crosses were carried in procession in church, some of the congregation thought it might be the last time of looking on them. "Our Lord speed you," said Thomas Foster, "for I think ye shall be taken away shortly, so that we shall never follow you more."³ In the evening of the same day, having this fear before them, some of the people came and took the keys of the jewels from the churchmasters, and entrusted them to Melton, a cobbler, whom they chose their captain. Next morning the officers of the bishop appeared in Louth, and their coming was at once followed by a riot: the Northern rebellion had begun.

¹ See notes on this letter.

² L. & P., No. 536.

³ *Ib.*, Nos. 968, 970, 852, 853, 854.

As the Derby Correspondence, which contains no document bearing an earlier date than Oct. 10, has little to do with affairs in Lincolnshire, it will not be necessary to follow the course of the rebellion there; but a few points, belonging to dates earlier than the one just named, and more or less connected with the subjects dealt with in the letters, may be noticed.

News of the rising soon spread. On Oct. 4 the Earl of Shrewsbury wrote to Henry reporting it, and asking for instructions;¹ and on the same and following days Lord Hussey wrote to the same effect to Cromwell.² On Oct. 6 the Earl of Huntingdon at Ashby-de-la-Zouche heard from Shrewsbury, that an assembly of divers of the King's disobedient subjects had taken place, and at once sent to Henry asking to know what he was to do as to raising a force.³ By this time, as the King wrote to Lords Montague and Scrope,⁴ measures were being taken for the repression of the insurrection. Letters had already been sent to the Earl of Shrewsbury, commanding him to assemble his servants, tenants, and friends; and in his reply, sent from Hardwick, in Sherwood Forest, on the same day that the instructions had come, he informed the King, that he had warned the King's servants in Derbyshire to meet him at Nottingham on Monday night (Oct. 9). He himself, with all the force he could make, intended to be at that town on Sunday.⁵ But while Shrewsbury was thus writing of danger from Lincolnshire, news of further trouble was being sent to Henry. A letter of Lord Darcy referred to seditions in Northumberland, of which, along with those in Lincolnshire, there were bruits in Yorkshire. In parts, too, of the last-named county—in Dent, Sedbergh, and Wensleydale—the people had confederated and sworn to certain unlawful articles.⁶ To oppose this very serious outbreak a force, which was said to number 100,000 men, but was really much less,⁷ was sent out under the Duke of Suffolk, the Earls of

¹ L. & P., 536.

² *Ib.*, 538, 547.

³ *Ib.*, 560.

⁴ *Ib.*, 556.

⁵ *Ib.*, 562.

⁶ *Ib.*, 563-4.

⁷ See *ib.*, 580, for its composition.

Shrewsbury, Rutland, and Huntingdon, and others.¹ On Oct. 7 Rutland had reached Nottingham,² on the 9th Suffolk was at Huntingdon on his way to Stamford. On the latter day Lord Darcy writes to the Mayor of York, that the Commons of Marshland, Howdanshire, Beverley, and the East Riding intend to invade the city of York and seize the King's money;³ while on the 10th the commonalty of Beverley write to the Commons of Lincolnshire: "We are risen and sworn to God, our Prince and the commons against counsellors, inventors and procurers to undo both Church and Commons."⁴

It is to this date that the first letter of our collection belongs. At the time no stirring was reported in Lancashire, though the danger of one was imminent; for a correspondent of Lord Darcy informed him, that "this week past Manchester college should have been pulled down and there would have been a rising, but the commissioners recoiled."⁵ The Earl of Derby⁶ was at Knowsley waiting for the King's command,⁷ and this he got in the following letter.

I.

[Hist. MSS. Com. Rep., vi. 445; L. & P., 634. In the MS. these letters follow that to Fitzwilliam, Part III, No. 62.]

The Copy of the Kings first lre sent to my Lord.
By the King.

Right trusty and right welbeloved Cosyn, we grete you well. And forasmuche as diuise traytors have lately assembled theymselfs together in Lyncolnshire and therabouts and at the wrytyng

¹ L. & P., 569.

² *Ib.*, 581.

³ *Ib.*, 627.

⁴ *Ib.*, 645.

⁵ *Ib.*, 635.

⁶ Apparently the Earl was not idle; at least another correspondent of Lord Darcy reports, on Oct. 12, that "It is openly spoken here that certain horseloads of bow-staves and bows have been sent for to York to be carried into Lancashire, and part gone thither already to the Earl of Derby."—*Ib.*, 678.

⁷ *Ib.*, 635.

herof do yet remayn trayterously together, albeit We have p̄pared for their rep̄ssion, as we dowl not but they shalbe shortly subduyd to the terrible example of all others; yet being the events of suche inter̄pses vncerteyn, and myndyng to be always in such aredynes as for such chaunces shalbe requysit and necessary, Our pleasure and comandment ys, that vpon the receyt herof ye shall soo p̄pair yourself and put all oʳ people being their abowt you in all those parties in suche a toward aredynes, as, the case soo requiring, you may, wth all the force ye be hable to make, in your own person wayt upon us wth the same, in suche place as we shall lymyt vpon oure next l̄res to be for that p̄pose sent vnto you. And herof faile ye not, as we specyally trust you. And as for the contrary or yoʳ slaknes herein, as ye will answar at your extreme pill. Yeuen vnder oʳ signet at oʳ Castell of Wyndsor, the x day of October, the xxviiith yere of our Reign.

Upon the receipt of this letter the Earl at once sent the following, dated Oct. 14:—

II.

[Hist. MSS. Com. Rep., vi. 445; L. & P., 703.]

The l̄re of my Lord sent to [the] Gentilmen vpon this
forsaid l̄re.

Right trusty and welbeloved, I comend me to you. And wher yt hath pleased the Kings Highnes to write to me his l̄res bering date at his Castell of Wyndsor the x day of October the xxviii yere of his graces reigne, comādyng me by the same vpon the Receyt therof I shuld soo p̄pair myself and put all his people being in these p̄tieȝ [in suche a toward aredynes], as, the case soo requiring, I may, wth all the force I am hable to

make by his graces comandment, in my own person wayt upon hym wth the same, in suche place as his Highnes shall lymyt vpon his next l^{res} to be for that p^opose sent to me, for the rep^rssing and subduyng of such traytors as be assembled and yet remayn trayterously together in Lyncolnshire and thereabowts. Wherfor for my part I right hertly desir you and ne^utheles vpon the Kings behalf straitly charge and com^and you, that ye wth all hast and diligent spede do put yo^rself and all your cumpany in aredynes to s^eve his grace: And to be wth me at suche tym as it shall please his Highnes to com^and me by his next l^{res}, at suche place as I shall then lymyt; and at the receyt of the said l^{res} ye shalbe ascerteyned of the Kings forther pleas^r. And by yo^r towardnes herin ye may deserve the Kings herty thanks as his faithfull and true subgets. And as for the contrary your slaknes herin, as ye will answar his grace at your extreme pill. Writon at Knowseley, the xiiii day of October, the yere of our Sou^eraigne Lord aforesaid.

But between the 10th and 14th the position of affairs had altered. The disturbance in Lincolnshire had been appeased. On the 12th Suffolk writes to ask "whether the King will grant the traitors in Lincolnshire pardon, so that the lord Steward and the writer may march straight towards the rebels in the North."¹ On the same day Shrewsbury, who with his associates was at Nottingham, writes, that "Lancaster herald in making proclamations among the Commons yesterday at Lincoln used himself manly and wisely, so that Shrewsbury trusts they will submit,"² a hope which he repeated the following day.³ The hope proved to be no unfounded one; for a letter of the 14th to Lord Darcy contained the information, that the great assembly of Lincolnshire had yesterday received the King's letters promising pardon if they returned home; thereupon proclamation was made for

¹ L. & P., 672.² *Ib.*, 674.³ *Ib.*, 694.

all to depart.¹ But while matters in one quarter had taken a favourable turn, it was otherwise elsewhere. In Suffolk's despatch of the 12th, quoted above, he remarked, "The danger from the multitude of men that is in the North, if they have time to gather, is to be considered;" and that his fears were well grounded was soon apparent. On the 13th Lord Darcy wrote to Henry, "a great number of your subjects rebelliously assembled on Monday last, and are up in the East Riding, and all the commonalty of this shire seem to favour their opinions, sounding in every behalf to the very like matter begun in Lincolnshire." Further instructions stated, that "most of the East Riding is up. Marshland, Snathe, and others of the West Riding joined with them this day. Dent, Sedbar, Richmondshire, Middleham, Wensladale, and Mashamshire are also up with most part of the North Riding, and in effect all the Commons of Yorkshire; and the city of York favours them. It is said that the Lancashire Commons are of the same mind as the others, and arrows' heads, bows, spearheads, and morres pike heads, they buy up all they can."² From the city of York itself was sent a confirmation of this news in a letter of the 14th, and in it the King's help was asked.³

Such being now the position of affairs, it became necessary to issue fresh orders to the forces that had been despatched to suppress rebellion. On the 15th Henry wrote to Shrewsbury confirming his previous commission until a new one could be sent,⁴ and directing him, that "As you have now the sword in hand, and we hear nothing yet of the repression of the traitors in Holderness and the borders of Yorkshire, if the Lincolnshire insurrection be appeased, you are to advance against those parts, taking with you our cousins of Rutland and Huntingdon, and leaving behind you for the keeping of Lincoln, Suffolk and the rest of the council that lay at Stamford. . . . If the gentlemen of Lincolnshire will not submit, you shall join with our lieutenant,

¹ L. & P., 706.

³ *Ib.*, 704.

² *Ib.*, 692.

⁴ Sent Oct. 17; *ib.*, 747.

and as soon as matters there may be compassed, march against those of Yorkshire. In that case you shall send to our cousin of Derby and the gentlemen of those parts, requiring them to come to you with all their forces." ¹ Satisfactory accounts from Lincolnshire led to the later instruction, that Shrewsbury was to turn his face towards Yorkshire, and "if you think your force sufficient to give the stroke without danger to our honour, give them the buffet with all diligence and extremity. If you think any risk, send word to the Duke of Norfolk . . . whom we have appointed to come to you with 5,000 men upon your advertisement and to be joined with you in commission of our lieutenantship." ²

It is to this date that the next letter to the Earl of Derby from the King belongs, and the change of plans that had become needful is marked by the substitution of Holderness and Holdenshire for the Lincolnshire of the first communication.

III.

[Hist. MSS. Com. Rep., vi. 445 ; L. & P., 719.]

The second lre sent to my Lord by the King.

Right trusty and right welbeloved Cosyn, we grete you well. And wher by o^r lres lately addressed vnto you we gaue in comāndment vpon the sight of the same to put all yo^r force in aredynes vpon a days warnyng to serve us in suche sort and place as we shuld lymyt and apoynt vnto you ; forasmoche as for the repression of certeyn trayto^rs assembled in the parties of Holdernes and Holdenshire ³ & thereabouts We have made our Cosyn of Shrewisbury ⁴ our Lieuteñnt, and appoynted hym wth a mayn armye to encounter wth theym and to geve theym

¹ L. & P., 715.

² *Ib.*, 716.

³ Howdenshire.

⁴ George, fourth Earl of Shrewsbury, succeeded at the age of five to the earldom, on the death of his father (13th Edward IV.). In the reign of Henry VII. he served with distinction both at home and abroad, alike in civil and in military affairs. In the first year of the next reign he was appointed Steward of the King's Household

suche a stroke, that all others by their example maye beware of like attemptats, Our pleas^r is, that lyke as we have appoynted our Cosyn of Rutland¹ and Huntyngdon² to ioyn^e wth all the force they be hable to make wth hym in that io^rney, soo shall you immediatly vpon his aduertisement put yourself and all your forces in aredynes and marche as fast wth the same towards theym as you can possible ; vsing yourself at your cūmyng vnto hym and befor in all things as he shall, being our Lieutenant, direct and appoynt you : forseing also that ye leave suche substancyall guydes in all your quarters behynd you, as may kepe the same in parfact staye and quyete. And as for your charges, We have appoynted a Tresorer³ to wayt vpon our said Cosyn and

(he is referred to as Lord Steward, Nos. iv, xx, xxvii), and was made a member of the Privy Council. In 4 Hen. VIII. he commanded the vanguard at the siege of Therouenne ; he was present at the interview between Henry and Francis ; in 14 Hen. VIII. was Lieutenant-General of the North, and made some inroads into Scotland. He supported the policy of the King in the matter of his divorce from Katharine, was one of the lords who subscribed the Articles that proved so fatal to Wolsey, and a year later was among those who signed the declaration sent to the Pope ratifying the divorce. His conduct in the perilous circumstances of the year 1536 was most beneficial to the King's cause. Without waiting for a commission he proceeded to raise men, though he was not insensible to the risk run by taking such a step. In his *Life of Henry VIII.* Lord Herbert remarks on this incident, that Shrewsbury "yet said, he knew his danger so well, as he had sent to the King for a pardon ; while for deterring the rebels, as well as the satisfying many, who otherwise might have suspected him, he gave an oath to his men to be true unto the King ; protesting further, that according to the ancient loyalty of the Talbots to the Crown, when it had been on a stake, he would have lived and died in defence of it."

¹ Thomas Manners, Lord Roos, was created Earl of Rutland 28th of June, 17 Hen. VIII. His name is found, along with that of Shrewsbury, in the list of earls who signed the declaration sent in 1530 to Clement VII. with respect to the divorce, and when Anne came from Greenwich to her coronation, he attended her in his barge. Previous to his attaining his earldom he had been appointed Warden of the East Marches towards Scotland.

² George, Lord Hastings, was made Earl of Huntingdon 8th Dec., 1529. He had taken part (4 Hen. VIII.) in the expedition to France, where Shrewsbury was also present. His sister was the wife of Thomas Stanley, second Earl of Derby.

³ The treasurer was Gostwick, who had been acting with Suffolk, but was now appointed to serve with Shrewsbury. "There is a letter written to M^r Hatteclif to

to see conveyent recompense made to all men accordyngly. And therfor now shew yourself as becomyth you, that ye may answer to that good opynyon we have conceyved of your good and loyal hert towards vs; yo^r ſvices to be don wherin we shall never put in oblyvyon. Yeuen vnder o^r signet at our Castell of Wyndsor, the xv day of October, the xxviii yere of o^r Reign.

While Henry was writing to Shrewsbury "to turn his face towards Yorkshire," other correspondents of the Earl were sending him information as to the magnitude of the task which would confront him. The lords in Pomfret Castle reported: "It is true the Commons for most of Yorkshire be up, and to-day we hear there meet before York above 20,000 men. . . . They increase in every parish, the cross goes before them. . . . News has just come that lord Latimer and Sir Chr. Danbie be taken with the Commons and be with them."¹ This news the Earl received at 3 p.m. on Monday, the 16th,² as he was carrying out the King's command by marching from Nottingham to Newark, and later on he was to learn, that two hours after its receipt matters had gone yet further. On that day, at 5 p.m., 20,000 men had marched in procession into York.³ At Newark, the following day, the King's letters of the 15th reached him,⁴ and finding that the rebels were said to number 40,000 and to increase daily, while his own force was little over 7,000, he wrote, in accordance with the instructions he had received, to the Duke of Norfolk, asking him to march with his force towards Doncaster; meanwhile "we will do the best we can, either to set some stay, or keep them in play till you come."⁵ The correctness of the statement, that the rebels increase daily, is illustrated by Lord

wayte upon my Lord of Suffolk, in Maister Gostwykes stede."—S. P., i. 472. "You shall sende all the money you have gotten to Maister Gostyk, being appointed Treasurer with my Lorde Steward."—*Ib.*, 478. Reference to the discharge of his duties in this capacity may be seen in L. & P., 911, 930.

¹ L. & P., 729.

² *Ib.*, 740.

³ *Ib.*, 759-60.

⁴ *Ib.*, 757.

⁵ *Ib.*, 758.

Darcy's letter to Henry of the same date as Shrewsbury's to Norfolk, in which he reports the numbers at 60,000—40,000 harnessed—and gives a longer list of disaffected districts than he had ever done before.¹ The serious character of the insurrection was yet further brought out in a letter of Sir Brian Hastings to Shrewsbury at the same time, in which he says: "The captains are the worship of the whole shires from Doncaster to Newcastle, except the Earls of Cumberland and Westmoreland."² This letter reached the Earl on the night of the 18th at Southwell, whither he had proceeded after leaving Newark in the morning.³ He heard there also, that the rebels of Yorkshire had come on the 17th to Doncaster, and had sworn the mayor and Commons: "never sheep ran faster in a morning out of their fold than they did to receive the said oath." Further, he heard that the Earl of Northumberland was taken. Under these circumstances, he wrote to Suffolk for reinforcements.⁴ By this time Norfolk had received the appeal for help sent on the 17th,⁵ and the King had despatched an order to him to advance towards Shrewsbury;⁶ but the Duke's report to Henry was not encouraging. Writing from Ampthill on Wednesday (18th), he says: "As to the haste desired by my lord Steward (Shrewsbury); we cannot be at Doncaster before to-morrow se'nnight, for our horses are too weak to go more than 20 miles a day. My (Norfolk's) company are at Cambridge, whom I never saw since their coming forth. Exeter's are stayed at Buckingham. The gentlemen of Gloucestershire are at Stony Stratford." There were, besides, difficulties about pay—difficulties which, as may be seen from the Earl of Derby's letters, were not of unfrequent occurrence.

On Thursday night, the 19th, the King's letter (No. III.) was received,⁷ and on the following day was written:—

¹ L. & P., 760.

² *Ib.*, 776.

³ *Ib.*, 759.

⁴ *Ib.*, 766.

⁵ *Ib.*, 772-3.

⁶ *Ib.*, 807.

⁷ *Ib.*, 774.

IV.

The Copy of my Lords lre sent to my Lord Steward the Kings
Lieuteñnt vpon the said lre.

My vere and singlar good Lord, in my moost humble maner I comend me to your Lordship. And [wher I] haue receyued the Kings moost honorable lres to my great cumforth, wherof I haue sent you herin closed a vere true and examyned copy, wherby your Lordship may likewise pceyue his graces pleasr and comāndment; I right hertly desir you I may be aduertysed by your wrytyng of your mynd therein concernyng all thinges accordingly. And I shall be moche more gladder to do his Grace iuice, then he to comānd me, to the vtter most of my lytill power accordyng to my moost bound dutye: and the rather to wayt upon you by his Graces comāndment I must desir your Lordship, forasmoche as this Cuntry is ferr distant from the place wher you be, and the people vere pore and of small habyltye, that ye will remember their conduyt money, when we shall set furthe, whiche wold recōfort theym vere moche, or to appoynt a place wher I shall shew theym that they shall receyue their money and wages. And thus o^r Lord Jhu euer preue you in honor and long lyff At Lathom, the xxth day of October.

In preparation for the expected orders from Shrewsbury was drawn up:—

V.

[Hist. MSS. Com. Rep., vi. 445.]

A Lre devysed to be sent to the Gentilmen, and staid, not send,
by reason of the Kings lres.

Right trusty and right welbiloved, I comend me to you: Certyfying you, God willing, I intend to begyn my iorney on

———— next towards my Lord and Cosyn, the Erle of Shrewsbury, the Kings Lieuteñnt of his Armye, wth all the conuenient spede I can make to hym, and to joyne wth hym to ſue the King aganst thise Rebelles and Traito^rs; wherfor by virtue of the Kings l^res to me lately directed I straitly comānd and charge you, that ye vpon the Receyt herof wth all your Cumpany well horsed and harnysed make the hast and spede ye possibly can after me, or to mete me by the waye at suche place as ye cōuenyently can, soo that we may be wth my said Cosyn at ——— the ——— day of ——— according as he hath lymyt. And that ye faile not herof, as ye will answar at your extreme pill. Writon at my manor of Lathom, the ——— day of ———, in the xxviii yere of the Reign of our Souueraigne Lord, King Henry the Eight.

Once more, however, rebellion spread so fast, that before one order could be carried out another had to be given in its stead. Already, on the 19th, a letter to the Earl of Derby was drafted, dealing with the insurrection about the abbey of Salley, in Lancashire;¹ and on the 20th, the day on which No. IV. was written, the commission, No. VI., and the King's third letter, No. VII., were despatched.

VI.

[VI. and VII., Hist. MSS. Com. Rep., vi. 445; L. & P., 806.]

The Kings Com̃ission² sent to my Lord.

Henry, by the grace of God King of England and of ffrance, defender of the faith, Lord of Irland and in Yerth supreme hed

¹ L. & P., 783.

² Thomas Stanley, writing to Lord Darcy, says: "He (Lord Derby) shewed me the commission, and said no ancestor of his had ever had the like. I answered, 'no more should he, but to aid my lord Crumwell and others.' I talked so long with him that he was displeased." (L. & P., 807.)

of the Church of England ; To o^r right trusty and right wel-beloved Cosyn, the Erle of Derby, gretynge. fforasmoche as we be credably informed, yt diu^se sedi^ciōus persounes in the parties of Lanc^r and therabowtes haue lately assembled theymselves moost trayterously together, and soo rebelliously attempted dyu^se things contrary to their dewtyes of allegiance to vs their Prince and Sou^{er}aign Lord, Our pleasur^e and cōmandment ys, that by vertue of this our Co^mission you shall levye our people and force in the partyes of Lancashir and therabowts aboue said, and wth the same addresse yo^r selfe spedely to all suche places, wher any suche Rebellyon hath byn attempted, and their ether to cause theym to submyt theymselves for their offences to our grace and mercy and lyke wise to declare vnto you the setters on of their insurec^{ti}ōn, or els to subdue theym wth suche force, extremytie and violence, as all other by their example may be war of like attemptats. And therfor we w^oll and moost straitly charge and cōmand all Mayers, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Constables and all other our Officers, Mynysters, Subgetts and true legemen, of what Estat, condi^{ti}ōn or degre soeuer they be, inhabytyng wthin our said Countre of Lancastre or vpon the borders of the same, not only to go wth you wth all their forces and in all things folo your direc^{ti}ōn and appoyntment in the premisses, but also from place to place, to see you and your c^ompany for your resonable money furnyshed wth vytale, cariage and all other things conuenient for yo^r conveyance or demor, as you shall lymyt and appoynt theym, wthout failing, as they will shew theymselves our true and faithfull subiects, and for the contrary answar at their pills. Yeuen vnder our pryvay seale, the xx day of October, the xxviii yere of our Reign.

VII.

The third l^{re} sent to my Lord by the King wth this forsaid Co^mission.

Right trusty and right welbeloved Cosyn, we grete you well.

And wher as by oʳ former lʳes addressed vnto you We gaue you specially in comāndment, not only to put yoʳ force in aredynes, but also vpon advertisment from oʳ Cosyn of Shrewisbury, oʳ Lieuteñnt for the Repression of the Rebellion in the North parties, wth all your said forces spedely to addresse yourselfe vnto hym, whersoever he shuld chance to be ; Vnderstanding sythens that ther hath byn lyke insurreccōn & assemble lately attempted in the borders of Lancashir, specially abowt the Abbey of Salley¹

¹ The abbey of St. Mary of Salley (Sallay, Sawley, Psalley), in Craven, West Riding of Yorkshire, was founded by William de Percy Jan. 6, 1147. In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* the return for "Monasterium Beate Marie de Sawley is £cxlviij. iijs. xd.," and Salley occurs in the list of Yorkshire monasteries of a less yearly value than £200 (L. & P., x. 1238); but in the Visitation of the Province of York its rental is given as £220 (*ib.*, 364). To the credit of the house it may be noticed, that in the report of the commissioners no charge is brought against its members; but the abbey was none the less doomed. The abbot, William Trafford, was to be pensioned with the parsonage of Gisburne in Craven, and with what further "in money your good mastership shall think of charity being sore diseased and not like long to continue" (L. & P., xi. 786). He was not, however, to die peaceably in retirement. On Oct. 12, as appears from their petition to the captain of the Commons of Yorkshire concerning the church of St. Mary, Tadcaster (it had been given to Salley by the daughter of William de Percy), which Sir Arthur Darcy had withdrawn from them, the abbot and twenty-one priests of the suppressed house were reinstated by the Commons (*ib.*, 784). Their position was an unhappy one; for though the surrounding country was in favour of their re-entry, and though individuals like Sir Stephen Hamerton and Nicolas Tempest helped them well, yet there were others, like "their most sinister back friend," Sir Arthur Darcy, whom they had good cause to fear; and in their necessity they applied for succour to a descendant of the founder of their house, Sir Thomas Percy (*ib.*, 785). The course of events was so far favourable, that the sentence, which was passed upon them in the words of the King to Lord Derby, was not carried into effect, and in December the restored monks of Salley are still in possession (*ib.*, 1218). But in the beginning of the following year the Duke of Norfolk received instructions from the King, which conclude with the words: "Finally, forasmoche as all these troubles have ensued by the sollicitation and traitorous conspiracies of the monks and chanons of those parties; We desire and pray you, at your repaire to Salleye . . . and all suche other places as have made any maner of resistence, or in any way conspired, or kept their houses with any force, sithens thappointment at Dancastre, you shall, without pitie or circumstance, nowe that our Baner is displayed, cause all the monkes and chanons, that be in any wise faultie, to be tyed uppe, without further delaye or ceremony, to the terrible exemple

and other parties ther about, insomoch the Abbot and Monkes be agayn by the Trayto^rs of that assemble restored to the possession of the said Abbey, as we be informed: We have determyned and resoluēd, any thing in o^r said former l^{res} to the contrary herof notwithstanding, to cōmand you, that, gathering all your force togethers and callyng vnto you all the Gentilmen of the Cuntrey therabowts, you shall immediatly vpon the sight herof procede wth the same to the repression of the said Rebellion and Assemble in the said borders of Lancashir or elswher wthin or nere the same, yf any suche do yet contynue. And semblably to the repression of all suche lyke attemptats, that shalbe interprised in those parties, and to travaill to the vttermost of your power to apprehend the Captaynes [and] chief doers of the same, and incontenently to cawse theym like traytors to be executed their; specially in your own person, wth all your said forces, to the said Abbey of Salley, in case ther be not more nede of redresse in other places; in which case ye shall addresse first y^t which hath moost nede and after do the other. And if ye shall fynd the late Abbot and Monkes therof remaynyng in the possession of the Howse, havynge receyved yt agayn at the handes of suche Trayto^rs and Rebelles, We woll then ye shall¹ take the said Abbot and Monkes wth their assistens furth wth violence, and wthout any maner of delay, in their Monkes

of others."—S. P., i. 539. It was not by such a summary method that the abbot of Salley met his death: a formal trial was allowed him at Lancaster, after which, on March 10, he was executed. The site of Salley was given to Sir Arthur Darcy.—See *Suppression of the Monasteries*, Camd. Soc., vol. xxvi., p. 158. For further notices of Salley see Harland's *Historical Account of Salley Abbey* and Whitaker's *History of Craven*.

¹ In a later (Oct. 28) letter of the King to Lord Derby similar instructions are repeated in yet more explicit terms: "If on your coming to Sauley you find the abbot and monks or canons restored again, of which they must have been authors or abettors, you shall at once cause the abbot and certain of the chief monks to be hanged on long pieces of timber or otherwise out of the steeple, and the rest to be executed in such places as you think fit." L. & P., 894.

apparell, cause theym to be hanged up as moost errant Traytoꝝ and movers of insurreccōn and sediōn accordyngly; having speciall regard and espiciall care through owt all the Cuntrey and parties about you, that no town or village begynne ones to assemble or gather together, but that they maye immediatly wth the Sworde be repressed to the terrible example of all others in tyme cūmyng. And this matter for your partyes round about you We desir and praye you lyke a man of yo^r hono^r to attend, and in no wyse to depart to our sayd Cosyn of Shrewisburi, as we befor appoynted. And dowt you not We shall soo remember your charges & consider your ſvice, that you shall have cause to be, satysfied and contented. And for your sufficyent auctorytie for the purpose to levye o^r force and people in those partyes about you We send vnto you herewth a cōmission vnder o^r p^rvey Signet at our Castell of Wyndsor, the xx day of October, the xxviii yere of o^r Reign.

The necessity for taking special precautions with regard to Lancashire is further illustrated by a letter of (about) this date, from an unknown writer: "Cousin Towneley, I have received a letter from Mr. Captain in this our Pilgrimage of Grace to raise the Commons of Lancashire. . . . I have sent to the Commons of Lancaster side for taking of the gentlemen who favour us." ¹

On the receipt of Nos. VI., VII. (apparently on Oct. 23) ² the Earl of Derby was no longer to expect a summons bidding him join Shrewsbury and the other leaders, but their movements may be briefly noticed after the 20th. Norfolk received fresh command on the 20th to proceed northwards, ³ and the same day writes from Cambridge to Shrewsbury to tell him that he is coming. ⁴ This letter was received on the 22nd at Scroby ⁵ by Shrewsbury, whom Norfolk had reported to Henry as being within a mile of

¹ L. & P., 804.

⁴ *Ib.*, 802.

² *Ib.*, 856-8.

⁵ *Ib.*, 840.

³ *Ib.*, 799.

Doncaster¹ at that date, Norfolk himself on that and the following day being at Newark.²

To return to the Earl of Derby, on the 24th, the day after receiving VII., he wrote :—

IX.

[L. & P., 856, from original in Record Office; Hist. MSS. Com. Rep., vi. 445.]

The first Lre³ of my Lord sent unto the King.

Pleaseth your Highnes to be advertysed I haue receyued your Graces lres⁴ yesterday in the mornyng: And this day the chief Gentilmen of this Shir, your S^pvants and my frynds, were here wth me, wher yt was fynally concluded amongst vs, that, god wylling, I and they, wth the force of the Shir and borders of the same, intend to set forward towards Salley on Sa^tday⁵ next, where the late Abbot and the monkes of the same yet remayne, And soo to procede forward for the xecu^on of your Graces com^andment. And for feare lest o^r p^opose shuld be knownen to theym, I have cawsed yt to be noysed, that I intend to advance forwards against other your Rebelles and Trayto^rs. And forso-moche as the Cuntry is bare in,⁶ and the com^aons and inhabitants of the same vere bare and scarse of money by reason of their charges in p^oparing theymselves to do your grace s^ovice, I humbly

¹ L. & P., 850.

² *Id.*, 850, 845.

³ This letter was received by the King on the 28th, and his answer to it, sent on the same day, contains the passage previously quoted in the note on p. 30, giving directions for the execution of the abbot and monks of that monastery.—L. & P., 894.

⁴ The commission, and the letter accompanying it (Nos. VI, VII), sent on Oct. 20th.

⁵ The 28th.

⁶ Barren. Sussex, writing from Preston, March 21, 1537, assures Cromwell, "that I thinke ther be not a skarcer cuntrey, bothe of horsemete and mans mete in England, and in maner for horsemete non is almost to be gotyn for money."—*Annal. Furn.*, p. 344.

beseche your grace to haue their necessytye in your remembrance, wth suche spede as shalbe pondered and considered by your high wysdome. And I pray god to preſeue your grace in high hono^r and excellencye. At Lathom, the xxiii [i?] ¹ day of October.

X.

[L. & P., 857, from original in Record Office; Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. vi. 445.]

A lre to my Lord P^rvey Seale ² concernyng the same matter.

My vere good Lord, in my moost hertyst ³ maner I reco^mend me to yo^r good Lordship : Signyfying vnto you, That I, wth the force of this Shir and the Borders of the same, intend on Saturday next to set forward towards Salley, for thexecu^on of the Kings co^mandment aganst the Late Abbot and Monkes of the same. And bycawse the Inhabytants of the Cuntrey, who must accompany me in this iorney, be vere bare and skarse of money by reason of suche charges as they haue byn at to ſue the Kings Highnes, I moost hertly desir you to be a meane to the Kings g^rce for money for their wages ; for it is vnknownen to me what rescous or socur they maye hap to haue, forels I wold thinke the Kings said high comandment myght be well accomplished wth lesse force ⁴ then I will take wth me but for feare of the same.

¹ From the original letter the date would appear to be the 24th, not the 23rd.

² Cromwell was made Lord Privy Seal June 2, 1536. He succeeded Anne Boleyn's father.

³ About this time Cromwell received a letter from a correspondent, whose name is not given, who says : " My lord, in my last letter I wrote that my lord of Derby was true to the King, and so I think he is yet, but, how he takes your lordship, I am in doubt, for I hear light words among his servants."—L. & P., 859.

⁴ The force reached a total of 7,811 men (L. & P., 1251).

X a.

A lyke lre was w^oton to my Lord of Sussexe.¹

.XI.

[L. & P., 858, from original in Record Office ; Hist. MSS. Com. Rep., vi. 445.]

Another lre sent to the King at the same tyme.

Pleaseth your Highnes to be aduertysed, how that a S^vant of myn, havynge busynes in Yorkeshir, was taken by the Rebelles there and compelled aganst his good will to be sworn² to theym ; and after he was sworn, they, supposing that he wold fullfill their comāndment, dyrected a lre vnto me, and comānded hym in any wyse to delyuer the same to me. And soo my said S^vant dyd at his cūmyng whom [*home*] ; whiche lre I send herin closed to

¹ Robert Ratcliffe, Lord Fitzwalter, was created Viscount Egremont in 1525 (L. & P., vol. iv. 1431-4), and in 1529 was yet further advanced by being created Earl of Sussex (*ib.*, 6083-4). He was connected with the Earl of Derby, having married the latter's only sister, Margaret. In the proceedings of the early part of 1537, when the northern monasteries suffered for their share in the Pilgrimage, Sussex played an important part.—See S. P., i. 540-3, and *Annal. Furn.*, p. 343.

² Many instances might be given of similar proceedings on the part of the Rebels in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. Sir M. Constable, writing to Cromwell on Oct. 5, says, "he met an honest priest who had come from Lowth and had found all Horn-castle up, and had been forced to take this oath: 'Ye shall swear to be true to Almighty God, to Christ's Catholic Church, to our Sovereign Lord the King and unto the Commons of the realm ; so help you God and Holydam and by this book.'" L. & P., 552. Henry Sais, servant of Christopher Ascue, who had gone to Yorkshire for three of his master's horses, on his return "in coming through Ferry brigges was taken and told to swear to be true to God and the King. Said he would, and some one said, 'and not to us?' Answered: 'If ye be true to the King, or else I would be loath to swear.' Then one said: 'If ye do not swear thus to be true to God and to the King and to the Commons, thou shalt lose thy head.' So he swore upon a little book, that one of them brought forth of his sleeve."—*ib.*, 879. So Shrewsbury complains to Darcy, that the latter's "servant, Thomas Gryse, has compelled Brian Bradford, servant to Shrewsbury's cousin, to be sworn against his will."—*ib.*, 1112. See also 568, 585.

your grace, sealed as it was delyuered vnto me, wthout any knolage of the contents therof; As knoith our Lord god, who ever p^{er}seve yo^r high magestye. At my pore howse of Lathom, the [24th] day of October.

On the 25th the following was sent out:—

VIII.

A lre to the Gentilmen vpon the same, sent by my Lord.

I comend me to you, and desir you and neūtheles vpon the Kings behalf charge and comānd you, that ye, wth all suche Cumpeny as ye be hable to make in harnes on fote, be wth me at Whalley¹ on tuysday at nyght next cūmyng, if it be possible, and that your Cumpeny bryng vytaill wth theym for v or vi days, and no moo horses but as many as shall sue for the cariage of the same, except gentilmen and such as list to ryde, wher ye

¹ Whalley Abbey was founded in 1296, when the monks of Stanlawe, in Cheshire, acting upon the previously obtained papal permission, transferred themselves to Whalley. The existence of another house within about six miles of Salley seems to have caused some alarm to the brethren of the latter, and a list of grievances was drawn up by them against the new-comers; but in a Chapter of the Cistercian Order, held in 1305, the dispute between the two abbeys was adjusted. In the troubles of Henry VIII's reign both suffered equally, and the abbot of Whalley, John Paslew, suffered the same fate as his brother abbot of Salley, having been hung within sight of his own abbey on March 12, 1537, two days after Trafford had been executed at Lancaster. The dissolution of the house took place in 1539. The Earl of Derby was steward of Whalley, as the Earl of Sussex noted to Cromwell in writing about the affairs of that house in 1537 (*Annal. Furn.*, p. 343). Instances of his action in consequence of holding the office will be found in Part III., Nos. 40, 49. At the date of this summons to the gentlemen he wrote also to the abbot of Whalley, giving notice that "I intend to be with you on Monday night, and desire you to provide for me and my company, and so do the King service" (L. & P., 872). The appointed Tuesday would be Oct. 31, and from a later letter (No. XII.) it appears, that on Monday, Oct. 30, the Earl was at Preston, intending, in accordance with his letter to the abbot, to be at Whalley on the evening of the same day.

shall kno forther of the Kings pleaso^r and myn. I have sent¹ to the King for your wages and conduyt money, whiche I thinke wilbe wth me right shortly. And thus fare ye well. At my Mano^r of Lathom, the xxv day of October, the xxviii yere of our Souuaign Lords Reign.

On the 28th an answer to IX. was despatched (see the notes on that letter), but by that date an arrangement with the rebels had been made at Doncaster. The Duke of Norfolk went to the King, and Shrewsbury sends on that day :—

XX.

[L. & P., 901, from original in Record Office.]

The Copeye of the Līe sent to my Lord from my Lord Steward, the Kings Lieuteñint, my Lord of Rutland and my Lord of Huntyngdon.

My vere good Lord, We hertly Recoñmend vs to your good Lordship. And wher my Lord of Norffolke and we that be here haue stayed the coñmons of Yorkeshir, soo that eury man is sparpoled and retyred whom [*home*] vnto their own howses, and my said Lord of Norffolke dep^ted vnto the Kings grace: And as we be informed² fro the Lord Darcy your Lordship wth your Retynue hath appoynted to be on Munday next cūmyng at Whalley Abbey: My Lord, the pmisses considered, that all things is well staid, We desir and pray you, and neuertheles in the Kings name chārgē you, that ye sparple your Cumpany wthout doing any hurt or molesta^ñ to the said Coñmons or any

¹ See No. IX.

² See the quotation from L. & P., 900, at the end of the letter. Aske also wrote to the rebels of Craven, Kendal, and other parts, who were assembled to resist Lord Derby, "declaring the order taken at Doncaster and enjoining them to disperse, as Shrewsbury had also written to Derby to do; and even if Derby continued to invade them, not to give battle till they had certified Aske."—L. & P., 1046 (3).

of theym. And that ye fail not herof, as ye will answarr vnto the Kings Highnes at your pill. And o^r Lord haue yo^r Lordshipp in his gounance. Writon at Dancaster, the xxviii day of October.

Yo^rs

G. Shrouesbury—Thom̄s Rutland—G. Huntyngdon.

To o^r vere good Lord the Erle of Derby.

At the same time the leaders of the King's forces remaining at Doncaster wrote to Lord Darcy: "According to your desire, we have written to my Lord of Derby, as in the copy we have sent you by your servant; not doubting but that you will stay the commons of Kendall about my lord of Derby, according to the order taken at our last meeting."¹

For a time, at least, the storm seemed to subside. On the 29th, Lord Darcy, in reply to the letter of the preceding day just quoted, writes: "The captain (Aske) and we have already sent in post to the commons of Cumberland, Westmoreland, Kendal, the side of Lancashire and Craven, and all others of the North, to leave besieging of houses and disperse homewards."² Shrewsbury himself, having heard "that the rebels in Yorkshire are disparpled at Pomfret, and all gone over Ferry Bridge," dissolved his army on the same day, and sent the ordnance to Nottingham.³ A day later the Earl of Derby, then at Preston, (see No. XII.), on receipt of No. XX., carried out the orders of that letter and sent:—

XXI.

[L. & P., 922; cf. also 1212 (3), from original in Record Office;
Hist. MSS. Com. Rep., vi. 446.]

The L^{fe} ⁴ my Lord sent to the Gentilmen immediately vpon the same.

I Certefye you all my frynds, ſuants and teñnts, that the

¹ L. & P., 900.

² *ib.*, 912.

³ *ib.*, 910.

⁴ As an instance of the receipt of the letter from the Earl on this occasion may be quoted the case of Sir Piers Dutton, who had "received the King's letters, touching

[*this*] day I receyued a lre frō my Cosyns the Erle of Shrewis-bury, the Kings Lieuteñnt, the Erle of Rutland and the Erle of Huntyngdon by the hands of on Berwyke, the Kings Herald, by the whiche lre they haue certefyed me, that the Coṃons of Yorkeshir be sparpoled and retyred whom, and that they have staid theym. Wherfor they haue desired me, and in the Kings name charged me, to sparple my cūpany wthout doing any hurt or molestaḃōn to theym or any of theym. And thus yt is pro-clamed by the said Herald in Preston. Wherfor I desir you to deṗt in Godds peace and the Kings to your own howses, and always to be redy to ſve the King, when I shall vpon the Kings behalf coṃand you. And I shalbe a meane to the Kings grace to consider your costes, paynes and good mynds, that ye have byn at to ſve his grace. Writon at Preston this Munday, the xxx day of October, at xi of the klokke.

A fuller account of the Earl's proceedings on Oct. 30 is given in the following letter sent by him to the King on Nov. 1, on which date he also wrote to Sussex;¹ while much interesting matter is to be found in Nos. XIII.-XIX.

XII.

[L. & P., 947, from original in Record Office.]

The secvnde² lre sent by my Lord to the King.

Pleaseth your Magestye to be advertysed, that vpon Munday³ last past I, being at yo^r town of P^rston in Lancashir their accom-panyed⁴ and in other townes and vyllages nere therabowts wth

the traitorous demeanor of the late abbot and canons of Norton. Appointed a short day for the execution of the same, but received letters before that day from the Earl of Derby."—L. & P., 1212. The letter spoken of by Dutton is the one in the text.

¹ L. & P., 948.

² The receipt of this letter is acknowledged by the King in No. XXIII.

³ Oct. 30.

⁴ The composition of the Earl's force of 7,811 men is given L. & P., 1251.

the moost part of your true and faithfull subgetts of the same Shir, was then in a redynes to have advanced forward toward Salley to have executed your graces comāndment ; And the said Munday at nyght I had appoynted to haue logged at the Abbey of Whalley, which is but iiii myles from Salley : And abowte ix of the klokke of the same Munday¹ cam on Barwyke,² your Herald at Armes, vnto me, and having your Cote Armur vpon his body delyuered me a lre, dyrected vnto me frō my Lord the Erle of Shrewsbury, your graces Lieuteñnt, my Lord of Rutland and my Lord of Huntynghdon : Theeffect of whiche lre is this : they Certyfied me by the same, that my Lord of Norffolke³ and they had stayed the comōns of Yorkeshir, and that eury man was sparpoled and retyred whom [*home*] unto their own howses ; And that my sayd Lord of Norffolke was departed⁴ to your

¹ Shrewsbury's letter was written at Doncaster on Saturday (see No. xx.).

² Henry Kay was Berwick Pursuivant. With the use of the title in the text compare : "We caused Kaye the Pursyvante, alias Barwik, to bee sent" (S. P., vol. v. 165) ; and again, "Yesternight cam unto me Barwick the Pursevaunt from Lancaster the Harralt. . . . The saide Barwick saithe" (*ib.*, 153).

³ Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, succeeded to the title in 1524 (L. & P., vol. i. No. 546 (15)), on the death of his father, who had been advanced to that dignity in 1514. On the same day that the father had been made a duke, the son had been made an earl, with the title which his father had before borne—that of Earl of Surrey (*ib.*, 469-5). In each case the new dignity had been well earned. The younger Howard had served with distinction at sea under his brother, the Lord Admiral, and on land vnder his father, the General of the English army at Flodden Field ; and later on he succeeded both brother and father in their positions of command. He followed his father also in the office of Lord Treasurer, on the latter's resignation. In 1520 he was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland (L. & P., vol. iii. 669-70), and discharged the duties of that post with success until his recall at the beginning of 1522. He played a prominent part in the suppression of the great northern rebellion, but his services on this and on other occasions would not have saved him from ending his life on a scaffold, had not the opportune death of his royal master occurred before the time fixed for the execution of the sentence that had been passed upon him.

⁴ The oath and articles sent up with the Duke of Norfolk to the King were "an oath to follow their captain in their pilgrimage of grace for the preservation of the King and expuls:ōn of villainous blood ;" and articles "for the maintenance of Faith and Church and the liberties of the same. That the laws may be used as at the

Highnes; And that they were informed frō my Lord Darcy,¹ that I wth my Retynue had appoynted to be vpon the said Munday at Whalley Abbey; And forsomoche as all thynges was

beginning of the reign, 'when his nobles did order under his Highness.' That subverters of the laws of God and the realm may be corrected; as the lord Cromwell, the archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the bishop of Worcester, and other maintainers of the same sect."—*L. & P.*, 902.

¹ Darcy, Thomas, Lord (1467–1537), son of Sir William Darcy, had been one of the most influential men in the North of England. In Henry VII's reign he was captain of Berwick, and in 1498, while still holding that post, he was appointed deputy to Henry, Duke of York, Warden of the East and Middle Marches. Somewhat later (in a patent of June 6, 1505, he is called Lord Darcy), he was raised to the peerage, and on Sep. 1 of the same year was made Warden of the East Marches. At the beginning of the next reign he became a Knight of the Garter, was confirmed in his more important offices, and was named of the King's Council. In 1511 he held the wardenship of both the East and Middle Marches, but in the same year gave up the appointment. When the troublous times of the divorce came, he was found at first on the side of the Court. He helped on the fall of Wolsey, his old friend, by drawing up a paper of accusations against him, and was one of the peers who signed the articles prepared against the Cardinal in Parliament, Dec. 1, 1529. In the following year he signed the memorial of the lords spiritual and temporal to Clement VII. concerning the divorce; but in the Parliament of 1532 he spoke in opposition to the Duke of Norfolk, when the latter complained of the Pope's dealing with the King. From this time Darcy's favour at Court seems to have declined. He was informed that his presence at the Parliament of January, 1534, would be dispensed with, and in September of the same year he and Lord Hussey began to hold secret communications with Chapuys, the imperial ambassador, to invite the Emperor to invade England (*L. & P.*, 1206). With a view to further this project he asked leave to return to Yorkshire, but was unable to obtain such permission until after July of the following year. Licence, however, to absent himself from future meetings of Parliament was granted him, by which means he escaped the necessity of voting on the question of the dissolution of the smaller monasteries. When the outbreak, of which the dissolution was a main cause, took place, he, though the King "had no greate truste in him" (*S. P.*, i. 483), had the command of Pomfret Castle, whither the Archbishop of York and many gentlemen betook themselves. Under the pretext (*cf.* Sadler's letter to Cromwell, where he repeats the remark of a 'mery fellow, who was myn host at Tadcaster': "How say ye to my Lord Darcy? did he not turne to the comons as sone as they cam to Pomfret, and toke their parte? and yet being within the Castell he might have resisted them, if they had been 10 tymes as many as they were," *S. P.*, i. 527) that provisions failed him, he gave up the castle, and then appears as a friend and leader of the insurgents. He stands by Aske during the strange scene when Lancaster Herald knelt before the leader of the Commons, and

well staid, as they did write : Therfor they desired and praid me, and neuertheles in your graces name charged me, that I shuld sparple [*disperse*] my said cūpeny wthout doing any hurt or molestacōn to the said cōmons or any of theym ; And that I shuld not faill therof, as I wold answarr vnto your Highnes at my pill. And lyke charge your said Herald did giff me in your graces name. And after the Receypt of the saides līes, and after Counsaill taken wth the Lord Mountegle¹ then p̄sent and wth a great nomber of the gentilmen of the Shir, and wth their assents, I and they thynkyng the said līe and cōmandment to be in effect as yo^r cōmandment, considering yt came from your said Lieuteñnt, did immedyatly sparple the said Cumpany soo assembled as is aforsaid, and soo departed whomwards. And the same Munday, in the moro, the cōmons of the Borders of Yorkeshir nere to Salley, wth sume of the Borders of Lancashir nere to theym, assembled theym together, and wth force then unknowen to me sodenly toke the said Abbey of Whalley, wher I had intended to have loged that nyght. And when they herd

the King's commanders treat with him as with other of the rebel leaders. Along with Aske, in 1537, he received the King's pardon, and the promise, that in case of future good conduct the past should be forgotten. But an intercepted letter to Aske aroused suspicion, charges of treasonable practices were brought against him, and on May 15 he and Lord Hussey were brought to trial. Both were found guilty, and on June 30 Darcy was beheaded on Tower Hill. See for a full account of Lord Darcy the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

¹ Thomas Stanley, Lord Monteagle (d. 1560), of Hornby Castle, was son of Edward Stanley, on whom the title had been conferred for his bravery at Flodden Field, and grandson of Thomas, first Earl of Derby ; consequently he was cousin to the father of the writer of the letter. He was joint steward with Sir William Compton of the monastery of Furness (*Annal. Furn.*, p. 315), and seems to have taken his share of county business (S. P., v. 28, 29). In the northern rebellion he was on the same side as his kinsman, and received instructions from the King "to have his servants tenants and friends who have not consented to the rebellion ready to serve with the Earl of Derby, where the Earl of Shrewsbury should assign, and also to have seditious persons punished" (L. & P., 1232). In the expedition against Salley he mustered 616 men (*ib.*, 1251).

and knew, y^t I had recyved suche a līe and cōmandment as is aforsaid, then they sparpoled their Cumpany the same day. And truly all thoghe the wayes and passages to Whalley and Salley be vere cumberous, strait, full of myre impedyments by waters and otherwise, yet I wth the power of yo^r true subgetts soo assembled wold have put all o^r bodyes in the adventure tō haue executed yo^r former com^t, if the said līe had not cum to my hands. And wth gods grace I have no dowt, all thoghe a great fray therof had enswyd as it was lyke to have byn, in conclusion the Trayto^rs soo assembled shuld fynally haue had an ouer thro and haue byn vaynquyshed. And wher ther hath byn lately an other ¹ Insurreccōn and Rebellion in the borders of Westm^oland, Cumberland and in that part of Lancashir northward from your town of Lancaster now sparpoled, who had intended, as yt is to be suspected, and as I do verely beleue, to haue comen thro this Shir, yf they had not byn afrayd of me and other your true subg^o soo assembled, as is aforsaid, at Preston, the Circumstances wherof I feare me were to tedyous to your grace here to be put in w^otyng of all that I have herd & knowen therof, wth the fats and feaned līes and devyses that hath byn feaned by that assemble and others, whiche līes and devyses they sparple abroad amongst your subjects by setting them on Church dores and otherwise: Therfor I haue made a byll of Artycles sumthing breifly therof, signed wth my hand, whiche I deliuered

¹ The Earl of Cumberland, on Oct. 31, writes to the King: "In going to Berwick my son was espied (by the Commons), and fled to Carlisle Castle, where he lay four days unknown. Then the Commons of Westmoreland and Cumberland besieged Carlisle, and the townsmen would have surrendered, but my son came forth among them and said he 'would stand as my deputy their captain and jeopardy his life with them,' so they promised not to give over the town. The Commons passed by for that time, but it is said they will assault it again within eight days, and you know there is neither ordnance nor powder, and the walls are putrefied and down. I have continually written to your Grace, but my servants have been taken by the Commons."—*L. & P.*, 927.

to your ſuant Henry Acres,¹ who was wth me and viii persons in his Cumpeny to haue ſued your Grace, and can instruct yo^r g^{ce} at the length therof. And in these affairs and all other, accordyng to my bound dutye, I shall always during my lyff as your true subget be redy wth hert and hand to do you such ſues as lyeth in my power, wth asmoche obedyens as I can ymagyn; As o^r Lord knowes, who preſue your magestye and royall Estat in high hono^r and excellencye. Writon at my mano^r of Lathom on all Saints Day, abowt iiii of Clokke after none.

XIII.

[L. & P., 947 (2), from original in Record Office.]

The Articles sent to the Kings grace.

FFYRST, as towching the Insurreccōn and Rebellion beyond Lancaster, whiche sume men then nombred to be v or vi thousand, and by examynaōn therof made syns it is thoght they were vnder iiim^l. The said Erle of Derby at his late being at Preston sent Jamys Walton and Thomas Brydoke,² ii of his ſuants, to theym to shew and declare vnto theym, that the said Erle advysed and cōmanded theym in the Kings name to depart whom [*home*] to their own howses, and to submit theym to the

¹ In the "boke" mentioned in the Earl's letter to the King (No. xxxi. of this collection), among the entries occurs "Henry Acurs, 9" (L. & P., 1251), a number that agrees with the statement in the text. Among the grants in December, 1524, is one to Henry Acres, yeoman usher, to be keeper of Stokkestof park, alias Toxstath, in the King's hands by the minority of Edw. Stanley, son and heir of Thos. Earl of Derby.—L. & P., 961 (23).

² Among those who assembled at the summons of the Earl of Derby was Thurstan Tyldesley. In the will (made 1 Ed. VI.) of Thurstan Tyldesley of Wardley, Thomas Bryddocke is named as one of the witnesses (*Wills and Invent.*, C. S. xxxiii. 104). Again, in the will (made April 19, 1556) of Sir Robert Bryddocke of Manchester, clerk, the testator leaves to Thomas Bryddocke his best bow and his arrows (*ib.*, C. S., 142). In all three cases the name might belong to the same person.

Kings m^ocy ; soo doing the said Erle wold be a meanes to the Kings Highnes to extend his pitye and m^ocy to theym. Too this Artycle on Atkynson,¹ being Capytain of that assemble, made answor to the said Erle ſuants, that they had a Pylgrymage to do for the Coṃonwelthe, which they wold accomplishe or iepde their lyves to dye in that quarrell. And wheras they dyd threte John Standyshe, ſuant to the said Erle and now Mayer of Lancast^r, to brenne his howse and spoile his goods, but if [*unless*] he wold cum to theym, the said Erle coṃanded his said ſvant to shew the Trayto^rs, that he wold not suffer the said Standishe, his ſuant, to cum to theym ; and yf they dyd any suche extremytye to him or other the Kings subgetts, the said Erle wold therof be reuenged. Too this Artycle the said Atkynson said, that certeyn of the said Standishe frynds becam swertyes to theym to bryng the said Standish to theym, and dyd not, and therfor they dyd repute his Swertyes as forfayto^rs, as more plainly apperith by a scrow [*scroll*] therof then redy made, whiche they delyuered² to the said Erles ſuant, whiche they send to the said Erle. And forther the saides Erle ſuants declared vnto the said Capytaine and other by the said Erles coṃandment, That if they contynued in their malys and obstynacy, and woll not be advysed and coṃanded, That then if they wold send a bill to the said Erle, signed wth the handes of xii of the Chief of this Rebellion, promysing to Feght on Bentham More,³ whiche was the place wher they were accustomed to muster, and wthin their own strenght, The said Erle wold mete theym there on a day to be agreed vpon, and determyn the quarrell by battaill. To this Artycle the said Capytayn and his Counsaill made answar sayng, they wold not feght wth the said

¹ In a later letter (No. xxviii.) he is called John Atkynson, captain of the Commons in Kendal.

² See No. xi.

³ In the West Riding of Yorkshire.

Erle, but if [*unless*] he interrupted theym of their Pilgrymage ; and if the said Erle wold [*wished to*] feght with theym, if he wold resoot [*resort*] to my Lord Lieuteñnt, then they wold feght wth hym and theym, And wthall that wold be aganst theym and their enterprise.

ALSOO the Co^mons of Cartmell¹ haue put the P^or into the Late Priorye of Cartmell, and, as it shuld seme, and as he and other saye, agenst his will ; for he staill [*stole*] away theym and came to the said Erle to Preston, befor he knew of any staye taken wth the co^mons of Yorkeshir.

ALSOO S^r Robart Bellyncham² knyght and di^use other teñnts and Quants to the said Erle in those partyes, which were taken by force by the same co^mons, be prively comon awaye from theym to the said Erle.

ALSOO the Abbot of ffurnes³ and the Deputy Stward of ffurnesse be p^rvately comon to the said Erle owt of ffurnesse by a

¹ A priory for canons regular of St. Augustine was founded at Cartmell in 1188 by the Earl of Pembroke. About the time of the dissolution there were in it eight religious and 38 servants (Whitaker's *List. of Whalley*, p. 554). The report of the visitors was not altogether favourable (L. & P., x. 140) to the house ; it was placed on the list of those which were to be suppressed (*ib.*, 1191), and its site was granted to Thomas Holcroft (see *ante*, p. 11, n.), who also, along with Sir Marmaduke Tunstall, mentioned a little later, obtained other spoil from the property of the priory. The last prior was Richard Preston (Whitaker, p. 560).

² Sir Robert Bellingham of Burneshead, Westmoreland, in the parish of Kendal. He married Anne, daughter of Sir James Pickering of Killington, and having only daughters by this marriage, the eldest male line of Bellingham, from Bellingham in Northumberland, came to an end. This Sir Robert sold Burneshead to Sir Thomas Clifford. When a meeting was determined "betwixt the Duke of Norfolk and the baronage and the commonalty of the North parts," Sir Robert Bellingham was one of the representatives from Kendale and Lonsdale (L. & P., 1155). A letter to him from the Earl will be found in Part III., No. 37, and another in which he is spoken of by the Earl as "steward to my Lady, my mother, and me, of our tenants near to Furness" (No. 56).

³ The abbot of ffurnes was Roger Pele or Pyle, who had been raised to the dignity about 1532 ; the deputy steward was William fitton (see No. xxiii). To the abbot, after the dissolution of the abbey, was assigned the rectory of Dalton (*Annal. Furn.*,

bot [*boat*] into Lancashir, and soo to Lathom ; but they were not takon, howbe it suche strenght of Rebellion cam into those partyes, and the cuntrey is in such case, that they were afraide to be takon wth force.

ALSOO if in case that the said Erle shuld haue happoned to haue had any Bataill on Bentham More, as is afor mencyoned, or if any Rescous shuld haue cumon to Salley, as was all redy provyded for, The said Erle shuld haue wanted the strenght of the Schir, whiche he dyd trust to, whiche had byn vere necessary to haue byn had : And in these same cases or other semblable enterprises hereafter to be had were moche necessary and convenyent. And moche the rather forsomoche as the inhitants in Lancashir nere the borders of Salley are not to trust to, for the moost part of theym shewe theymselves to be Rebelles ; Wherby the said Erle strenght, that he trusted to, is mynyshed, and the Trayto^rs strenght therby the more incresed.

ALSOO the Lord Mountegle and Sr Marmaduke Tunstall¹ knyght cam from their howses, whiche stand bitwyxt Lancaster

316 *seq.*, 352). Notwithstanding the avoidance of the Commons on this occasion, the abbot of Furness did not escape the suspicions of the King, who, writing in 1537 to the Earl of Sussex and others, after examinations made by them into the circumstances of the Rebellion, says : "Forasmoche as by suche examynations as you have sent unto Us it apperethe, that the Abbot of Furnes and diverse of his monkes have not been of that truth towards Us, that to ther dieuties apperteyned, We desire and praye youe, with al the dexteritie you canne, to devise and excogitate to use al the meanes to you possible, to enserche and trye oute the veray truth of their procedinges ; for We thinke veraylie, that you shall fynde therby suche matier, as shall shewe the light of many thinges yet unknowen. And our pleasure is, that youe shall uppon a further examynation commytt the said Abbot, and suche of his monkes as you shall suspecte to have been offendours, to warde ; there to remayn, tyll youe shall, uppon the signification unto Us of suche other thinges, as by your wisdom you shall trye out, knowe further of our pleasure."—S. P., i. 541.

¹ Sir Marmaduke Tunstall, of Thurland Castle, Knt. (d. 1566), was the son of Sir Brian Tunstall, who was killed at the battle of Flodden Field. In the year following his father's death he was made the ward of his uncle, Cuthbert Tunstall, afterwards Bishop of Durham (L. & P., i. 5288). He was amongst those summoned by the Earl

and Westm⁹land, for feare of being takon wth force by the saides Rebelles, and cam to me to Preston.

XIV.

[xiv.-xviii., Hist. MSS. Com. Rep., vi. 446 ; L. & P., 7892.]

Lres and Sedicious ¹ Devises made by the Coñons.

Be it knowen geñally how of late we haue Receyved writyng both lovingly and right sharpely Dyrect vnto vs in the [*this*]

of Derby to proceed against Salley, and seems to have attended with sixty followers (L. & P., 1251). Shortly after he is found among the witnesses to the deed of surrender of Furness Abbey, and he accompanied Southwell when, on 23rd June, 1537, the destructive proceedings that followed the surrender were begun. His name occurs associated with that of Lord Monteagle in S. P., v. 28, and again in connection with the military levy of the hundred of "Loynsdale" (*Lanc. Lieut.*, C. S., xlix. 4).

¹ The causes of complaint, which were assigned by the Commons as a justification for their "Pilgrimage of Grace," were various. Some were purely religious, as when in their articles addressed to the King they complain, that (1) "by the suppression of so many religious houses the service of God is not well performed;" and (5) "are grieved that there are bishops of the King's late promotion, who have subverted the faith of Christ" (L. & P., 705). So first among the demands is one "touching our faith:" to have the heresies of Luther, Wyclif, Husse, and others destroyed (*ib.*, 1246). Others, though sometimes in part ecclesiastical, were matters affecting temporal interests. The articles, which follow that just quoted above, are: (2) "They desire the repeal of the Act of Uses, which restrains the liberty of the people in the declaration of their wills concerning their lands, as well in payment of their debts, doing the King service, and helping their children. (3) The tax payable next year is leviable of sheep and cattle, which are now in manner utterly destroyed. The people will therefore be obliged to pay 4*d.* for a beast and 12*d.* for 20 sheep, which will be an importunate charge, considering their poverty and losses these two years past." Further, in (1) they had complained, that in consequence of the suppression of religious houses the people were unrelieved. Reports were rife that "(1) Every man shall bring in all the gold they have, and that it shall have the touch of the Tower. (3) That every man shall be sworn what substance he is of, and if he is worth more, all his goods shall be taken. (4) No man shall eat white bread, goose, or capon without paying to the King (see No. xvi.). (5) A noble shall be paid for every wedding, burying, and christening. (6) No cloth shall be made, unless it shall be

maner: Maister Povertye, the Conductor, Protector and mayntener of the wholl comynaltye, sendeth you all gretynge in our Lord euerlastyng. And forsomoche as we intend the Defence principally of the Faith of our Sauy^{or} Christ Jhu, vnder lycence of o^r moost noble Souueraign lord, King Henry the eight, whose hono^r is intytled to be Defender of the said Faith, and yet notwithstanding by certeyn Herytykes in o^r tyme we se it petwuo^{ly} (?) ¹ and abhomynably confounded, not ashamyng in opon Preching too blaspheme the hono^r of our lord god, workyng moost cruelly by spoilyng and suppression of holy places, as Abbeys, Churches and Mynsters of the same, but also rageously velipending and dispising the Lawes and Ordynances of our Mother Holy Church; blasphemynge also our Lady and all other Saints in hevon, wherby we are ruine in shamefull sklender throowt all Realmes Chrysteyn, to the utter confusion of all Englishe people. fforther, the said malyfacto^rs haue procured and purposed aganst

brought to a place assigned and sealed with two seals, and his name set upon it, and if it go in or shrink the goods of all those shall be forfeit" (*ib.*, 768). Another great occasion of offence was a matter of State—the King's choice of his councillors—and the fourth of the above quoted articles is: "The King takes of his Council, and has about him, persons of low birth and small reputation, who have procured these things (the subjects of complaint in the previous articles) for their own advantage, whom we suspect to be lord Cromwell and Sir Ric. Riche." How strong a hold the belief in their wrongs had taken upon the Commons of northern England may be seen in some of the contemporary narratives that have been preserved (see, e.g., L. & P., 841, 968). The language in which the answers to articles and demands was couched seems at the present time not well calculated to soothe irritation. Thus the Lincolnshire rebels receive the following:—"How presumptuous are ye, the rude Commons of one shire, and that one of the most brute and beastly of the whole realm and of least experience, to find fault with your prince for the electing of his counsellors and prelates" (*ib.*, 780). And in reply to Yorkshire the King concludes: "As to your demands: the pardon of such things as ye demand lies only in the pleasure of the Prince, but it seems by your lewd proclamations and safe conducts, there are those among you who take upon them both kings' and councillors' parts. What arrogance in those wretches to presume to raise you, our subjects, without authority, yea, and against us, under colour of your wealth and in our name" (*ib.*, 957).

¹ Piteously (?). The word in the *MS.* seems to be that given in the text.

the comonwelthe ſteyn acts of Lawe vnder the color of Perlyament, whiche, put in execucon, the Estat of Povertye can no longer bere nor suffre these pmisses. Wherfor I comānd you all in generall, from xvi yeres and aboue, in payn of deathe and forfayting of your goodes, to be in aredynes to ayd vs in mayntenynge of the said Faith of Christ and his Church, of the moost high honor of our Soueraign Lord the King, and of the Comonwelthe of this his moost noble Realme of England.

And eu god save the king
send hym good Counsaill.

XV.

Welbeloved, We grete you well. And wher as oʒ brother Pouertye and oʒ brother Rogers goeth forward oponly for the aide and assystance of your Faithe and holy Church, and for the Reformacon of such Abbeyes and Monysteries now dissolued and suppressed wthout any iust cause : Wherfor good brethren, forasmoch as our said bretherhed hath send to vs for ayde and help, we do not only effectually desir you, but also vnder the payn of dedly synne we comānd you and eu of you, to be at the Stoke grene besids Hauksed Kyrke on Saʒday next, being the xxviii day of October, by xi of the klokke in your best araye, as ye will make answar befor the High iuge at the dredefull day of dome, And on the payn of pulling down your howses and losing of your goodes, And your bodyes to be at the Capytaynes will ; for at the place aforesaid then and there ye and we shall take farther dyreccon concernynge our faith soo sore decayed, And for good and laudable custumes of the Cuntrey, and suche noghty invencons and strange Artycles now accepted and admytted, soo that, if our said brethren be subduyed, they are like to goo forward to the vtter vndoynge of the Comonwelthe.

XVI.

Artycles sent wth the same L^{re}.

FFIRST, that no Infant shall receyue the blessed Sacram^t of Baptysme onles a trybut¹ to be paid to the King.

THE SECOND, that no man vnder xx^{li} Landes shall ete no bredde made of whete, nor Capon, Chekyn, gosse nor pigge, onles to paye a tribut to the King.

THE THIRD is, that e^{ly} Plowland shuld paye a tribut, wth other extreme and vrgent causes. And hertly fare ye well.

This l^{re} was writon to the Bailiffs and Constables.

XVII.

[Cf. No. XIX.]

The oithe of the honorable Men.

Ye shall not entre into this our Pilgrymage of Grace for the Co^monwelthe but only for the loue that ye do bere vnto Almyghty god his faith and to holy Church^e mylytant [and ?] the maynteⁿce therof, to the pre^sua^cion of the Kings person [and ?] his issve, to the purifying of Nobylitie, and to expulse all villayn blodde and evill counselors aganst the co^monwelthe from his grace and his p^rvey Counsaill of the same. And that ye shall not enter into our said Pilgrymage for no particular proffet to your self, nor to do any displeas^r to any p^rvat person, but by Counsaill of the co^monwelthe, ne sle ne nurder for no invye, but in your herts put away all fear and drede, and tak afor you the Crosse of Christ, and in your herts his faith, the Restytu^con of

¹ This idea and the one mentioned in a previous note as to payments at weddings and funerals seem to have arisen from Cromwell's attempt to institute parish registers, a plan carried out two years later.

the Church, the suppression of these Heritykēs and their opynyons, by all the holle [*holy*] contents of this boke.

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XVIII.

[L. & P., 784, ii., from original in Record Office.]

An Order for Religeos Howses.

The Religeous persons to entre into their Howses agayn and vue all the goods there or elswher, and therupon a bill made and indented, the on partye to be delyuered to the ffermer and the other partye to be kept by the cdant [cedant]; And their to do Dyvyne ſuce as the Kings Bedemen to suche tyme our petiōn be granted; And to haue both vytaill, corne and all other thinges necessary of the ffermo^r by Bill indented, or els record what they take during the tyme of our Pilgrymage and the tyme they do devyn ſuce of god. And we trust in god, that we shall haue the right intent of o^r prayer graunted of our moost dredde Souueraign lord, plenteously and mercyfully. And y^t no person nor persons do move no ffermo^r, nor alyenat nor tak awaye any manⁿ of goodes of the aforsaid Howses, vpon payn of deathe.

By all the wholl consent of all the herdmen
of this our Pylgrymage for Grace.

XIX.

[L. & P., No. 892 (2), from original in Record Office.]

WE desir and alsoo charge and comānd you, opon payn of dethe, and for the loue ye beare to God his faith and Church mylytant, and the mayntenāce therof, and for the preſuaōn of the Kings person and his issue, for the comōnwelthe, and the intent to expulſe and ſuppreſſe all heretic; and their opynyons,

and to avoyd all vylayn blode from the Kings grace and his Privey Counsaill, That ye nor non of you geve ayde or assistans (?)¹ to the Erle of Derby or any other, except ye p^rfitly know hym or theym assured and sworn to and for the Com^onwelthe ; And that ye faile not all and eury one of you, aboue the age of xvi yeres, to be on Clydero² More vpon Munday next, in all your best araye, by ix of the klokke.

Now God m^ocy e ever,

And now or never,

for God, the King's grace and yo^r self and all yo^rs hereafter. And also we charge you Curats to p^rnounce this to your wholl pishe.

By all &c.

As October closed, matters looked more promising, though that the danger was not over may be seen from a letter of the Earl of Cumberland to Henry on Oct. 31, in which he says, that the Commons, though they had for that time given up the siege of Carlisle, intended to assault it again within eight days.³

November then opened with a prospect of coming peace. Norfolk had reached the King, and on the 2nd a proclamation was drawn up granting a general pardon to "the commons dwelling north of Doncaster, who have lately committed open rebellion."⁴ But the letters from the Earl of Cumberland were still disquieting. Writing to Fitzwilliam on the 6th he reports: "The commons throughout Yorkshire, Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and most of Lancashire are wilfully set and minded, and the gentlemen taken with them likewise, rather for war than peace, and daily spoil those yet unsworn to them, who are but a small company."⁵ Rumours of treachery, too, had reached the South. Norfolk, writing on the 6th, says, "knowledge had come that Aske had essayed by

¹ The word in the *MS.* is "apparans," which seems an error ; the phrase *aid and assistance* occurs more than once later on, and perhaps was intended here.

² Clitheroe.

³ *L. & P.*, 927.

⁴ *Ib.*, 955.

⁵ *Ib.*, 993.

divers letters to Lancashire . . . and other places to make new commotion." ¹ Such rumours were afterwards declared to be false by those against whom the imputation was made, ² but there was quite enough cause for the King's warning to the Earl, contained in the following :—

XXVI.

[Hist. MSS. Com. Rep., vi. 446 ; L. & P., 992.]

By the King.

Right trusty and right welbiloved Cosyn, we grete you well. And have receyued your lres Dated at yo^r Manor of Lathom on All halowen day last passed, and by the contyñnt wherof do right well p^{ro}ceyve, aswell your towardnes to haue executed our comāndment at Salley, for the whiche we geue vnto you our moost herty thanks, as your stay and retirement from the same vpon certeyn lres sent vnto you from o^r Cosyn of Shrewisbury, our Lieuteñnt, and other of our Counsaill their wth hym ; Wherin also ye dyd vse yourselfe discretly, both in gevyng place to their adūtisments & semblably in the quyet bestowing agayn of our people that were wth you ; And principally for the setting furth of the truthe in certeyn Artycles, subscribed wth your hand, to instruct o^r good subiects therof, And by the same to ārme theym aganst the moost fals, trayto^{ro}use and malicious devises, inuented and set furthe by the Rebelles ; all whiche yo^r proceedings shall vndowt^{ly} remayn for euer in our herts, and bring furth from tyme to tyme suche frute and effects towards you, as ye shall haue good cause to thinke your labours therin well employed. And now, good Cosyn, forasmoche as thinges be broght to sume quyet, and that neūtheles we verely thinke the

¹ L. & P., 995, 1014.

² *Ib.*, 1045-6.

males [*malice*] of the fyrst doers of this sediõn will worke þvely still and otherwise, as they Dare, for the further accomplishment of their devolishe purpose, We desir and pray you to be the more vigelant, and to haue your forces contynually in such aredynes, as in case any new Insurrecõn shuld be attempted in those partyes nere, you may eyther in the vere begynnyng therof wth violence or by good meanes rep^{sse} the same, or at the least be soo assured to haue all your said forces in suche a staye, as you may be hable, by the keping of the straytes and passages, to defend the fury of the Rebelles, tyll upon advertisement therof to vs We may send soco^rs vnto you. And especially we desir and pray you to make owt now assured espialls into sundry partes of Yorkeshir and the other Cuntreys, that haue attempted insurrecõn, and by the same to enserche¹ and lern certeynly from tyme to tyme, how the people do now vse theym-selves vppon this retyerment; whether they doo applye [theym-selves to] their busynes and accustomed occupaõns, or seme to forget theymselues, and lyue in their fury and madnes; And what they intend to do, and therof to aduertise vs wth diligence. And to thintent that the gentilmen abowt you sholl not only perceyue that we take yo^r [their ?] 3vices at this tyme don vnto vs

¹ Very similar language is used in the instructions given to the Herald (Thomas Miller, Lancaster Herald), who was sent by the King to the North "to thentent His Highnes may now certainly knowe, howe, and in what sorte, the (Yorkshire) rebelles doo nowe uppon their retyerment, use themselves: that is to say, whether they doo applye themselves quietly to their accoustumed exercitations and busynes, repenting in apparaunce their offenses for this trayterouse attemptate; or whether they do yet, like men in dispair, contynue in plumpes, devysyng upon their factions, semyng rather to retayne som part of their fure and madnes, then to have cast the same holy awaye, and so to knowlege and confesse their said offences" (S. P., i. 473). How these instructions were carried out is told by the Herald in his report (*ib.*, 485-7). The event in his case was less fortunate than in that of the Earl, for in consequence of his conduct at the meeting with Aske he was arraigned, condemned to be beheaded, and Jenney reports to Cromwell on Aug. 2, 1537: "I devised that Lancastres heade shuld be sett upp by the body of Aske" (*ib.*, 560).

in your cumpany in vere thankefull parte, but be the better wylling to ȝve vs agayn in semblable case, We have addressed oʒ lʒes of thankes to dyʒse of theym, which you shall receyue herewth, to be delyʒed accordyng to their direcōns, And require you hertely by your own mouthe in oʒ name to geve thankes to suche others, as to the rest of oʒ good subiects, as were wth you, and be now, for want of leasure to wʒte mo lʒes, omytted in the specyall remembrance of the same. Yeuen vnder oʒ Signet at oʒ Castell of Wyndsor, the vi day of November, the xxviii yere of our Reign.

The Earl, however, seems to have been alive to the need for the vigilance recommended to him by the King, as already, on Nov. 7, consequently before receiving the preceding letter, he had issued :

XXX.

[Hist. MSS, Com. Rep., vi. 447 ; L. & P., 1010.]

A Lʒe sent by my Lord in the Kings name to all Mayers, Constables and other the Kings Officers in the Com. of Lancaster.

I comēd me to you, and desir you and neūtheles vpon the Kings behalf straitly charge and comānd you by vertue of his graces lʒes to me lately addressed, that ye vpon the Receyt herof nyghtly do cause a Watche of ȝteyn hable persons to bee assembled in your towne and circūspectly to see, that no mañer person passe therby, but [*unless*] that they do kno who he is, and whither he wyll ; and to serche hym, whether he haue any lʒes or wrytyngs vpon hym. And yf the sayds Watchmen do take any person by the nyght tyme, whiche they by examynaōn shall suspect to be confederat or sworn to the Comyns, then you to send the same to me. And forther, that ye, by all the meanes

ye can, in the day tyme do make serche and laye wayt, if any man of p̄son or p̄sons passyng thro your towne or abyding in the same do speke any vnfytyng or sklanderous words by the Kings Hyghnes or by any of his most honorable Counsaill ; That ye incontynent takyng record of his Wordes and puttyng the same in w^otyng do comyt hym to sure geole, And after bryng hym to me, soo that I may doo therin, as doth and shall stand wth the Kings pleas^r. And forther, yf ye here of any styrring or comōdōn by any of the Kings Subiects, in what maner sooever yt be, That ye wth all spede possible do send me knolage therof. And hys payns and costes, who shall bryng me word, shalbe soo well considered and deūed, as he shall hold hym well content. And that ye faile not herof, as ye will answarr at your moost extreme pill. Writon at my Manor of Lathom, the vii day of November.

Though the King, who throughout seems to have been more sanguine than his servants, professed in a letter of the 7th to consider the danger passed,¹ yet the possibilities of fresh disturbances were recognised. In case of another assembly, Shrewsbury had orders to advance only as far as Derby ;² on the 10th by the King's command Rutland was again at Nottingham, and on the same day Henry wrote to Derby :

XXVII.³

[Hist. MSS. Com. Rep., vi. 446 ; L. & P., 1031.]

To o^r right trusty and right welbeloved Cosyn Therle of Derby.
By the King.

Right trusty and right welbeloved Cosyn, we grete you well. And forasmoeche as sythens the retyre of our Rebelles lately

¹ L. & P., 1002.

² *Ib.*, 1028-9.

³ Perhaps it is to No. XXVI., rather than to No. XXVII., that Derby refers in a letter to Cromwell written on Nov. 14, when he says "he has received the King's and

assembled in Yorkeshir and therabowts We haue considered, that, notwithstanding the great Clemencie whiche we haue determyned to shew vnto theym, ffor that it appereth, that they were trayned vnto their Rebellion by the p̄suasion of diuſe and c̄teyn moost detestable Traytors inculking and beateing into their heddes certeyn forged lyes, fayned and moost vntrue tayles and surmyses, It may fortune, that sum of the Capitaynes of that sediçōn may neūtheles by reason of this fury remayn in suche estymaçōn amongs the people, that they may yet in sv̄m q̄ters attempt a new assemble and insurrecçōn, and that therfor in advoyding of the euyll that may ensue therof, it is vere necessary for vs not only to put here a mayn Army of the good men of theis p̄ties in aredynes, in case of any new extreme cōmōcōn, to wayt vppon oʁ own person, yf we shuld repair into those partyes, as vppon suche occaçōn we propose to do, But also to take lyke order and direcçōn for oʁ people in those quarters; Ye shall first understand, that we haue appoynted oʁ right trusty and right welbeloved Cosyn and Councelor, therle of Shrewisbury, Lord Steward of oʁ Howsehold, to svpplye in suche case the Rowme of oʁ Lieuteñnt, And haue sent vnto hym our l̄res patents for the same, to thentent he may direct and order all oʁ force there, as to his wisdome shalbe thought conveyent. Secondly, We desir and pray you to put all the moore hable, potent and piked men, that you can make, in such aredynes, as vppon an howres warnyng they may be redy to resort vnto you, if ye shall here, that ther shalbe in dede any newe insurrecçōn

Cromwell's letters by Cromwell's servant, Ric. Hoghe. Rejoices that the King so well accepts his poor heart, good will and service. Asks that the King's subjects under his leading may have wages when they serve him. The country is bare of money. They have been at great cost of horse and harness, and much dearth of corn. In times past every man has had an allowance of 4s. for a jacket in time of war, and this time they have paid for them at their own costs. Besides they were two or three days with the Earl at their own costs towards Salley, ere the matter was stayed."—*L. & P.*, 1066 (from Record Office).

attempted ; whiche or pleasure is, ye shall in that case levye and wyn wth the rest of the cuntrey there, And eyther demor wth the same in those parties or to repaire to or said Cosyn, as he by his L^{tes} shall appoynt you. Thridly, We haue at this tyme directed our l^{tes} ¹ for the purpose, of such tenor as the mynute herin inclosed importeth, to all the Gentilmen of Lancashir and Cheschir, whiche ye shall receyue herewth, to be delyuered vnto theym wth all diligence. And also x l^{tes} of the same sort, not directed, to thentent you may cause the superscrip^{co}ns to be made to such other gentilmen, as ye shall thinke mete. Wherfor we desir and pray you, good Cosyn, in this matter to vse your accustomed dexterytie, and to be soo vigelant for this p^{ro}pse, that ye be in no wyse surprised or sodanly by falce and crafty meanes decyued of that force ye loke for. And as for money and all other things necessary, we shall see the same in this meane season put in such aredynes, that, the case soo req^{ui}ring, ye shall haue suffycient furnytur therof accordyngly. Yeuen vnder or Signet at our Palais of Westmynster, the x² day of November, in the xxviii yere of our Reign.

The state of affairs was by no means settled. Sir Brian Hastings wrote to Shrewsbury on the 13th, that word had come to him at his house at Fenueik of an intention on the part of the rebels to take more of his cattle. On his taking steps to prevent their purpose the Lord Darcy had raised the country.³ Similar

¹ See the following note.

² This letter seems to have been drawn up, or at any rate determined upon, somewhat earlier, as there is another letter, whose preamble contains the statement, that Lord Derby had been written to, which bears the date Nov. 9 (L. & P., 1022). The address of this document is left blank, but it was intended for those who were to serve under Derby. "We have thought meet also to appoint you with your force to serve us in the company of our said Cousin Derby, and you shall make ready the most able men you can, if need shall require, to join our said Cousin : meanwhile taking order to leave men of honesty behind you to stay the parts thereabouts in your absence."

³ L. & P., 1059, 1086.

rumours of the rebels' intentions seem to have reached Sir Richard Hoghton, as appears from the following letter of the 13th :—

XXII.

[Hist. MSS. Com. Rep., vi. 446 ; L. & P., 1060.]

A Lre sent to Sr Richard Hoghton.¹

Cosyn, I comēnd me to you. And wher ye send me knolage by yo^r ſvant, Alexander Clayton, that ye had a pryvey warnyng, that the Rebells of Dent, Sedbar and those parties intended to cum throghe this Shire to se your howse amongst other, I thinke they nother will nor dar presume to take on hand so high an enterprise. And I trust in god thoughe they wold attempt any suche thinge, yet I, wth the ayde and assistens of you and other the Kings true subgetts in this Shir wth the helpe of our ney-burghes the schirmen, whiche I trust will wyn wth vs, if any suche nede require, shalbe hable to resist their malyce. Neuer-theles forsomoch as the chaunces of suche thinges be vncerteyn, what folly and madnes suche people myght happen to attempt, Therfor I advyse and desir you to make as good espialles as ye can to hear & know what they intend to do from tyme to tyme. And soo shall I for my part do. And in case ye perceyue any suche presumptiōn in theym, I wold that wth all hast and diligence ye do send me knolage therof ; And from the tyme ye perceyue any suche thinges attempted, y^t ye, wth all the spede ye can, do levye and assemble together all your force and Cumpany, for feare they shuld take vp the same at their own howses, when they were abroad. And if such nede require, I wold ye shuld in my name geve like advyse to all the gentilmen, the Kings S^ouants and other in those partyes ; And kepe you

¹ See *ante*, p. 9. His retinue on the Salley expedition is estimated at 500 (L. & P., 1251).

together, as moche as ye may, in Cumpanyes and Garisons ; And if ye be hable, then to stop the Rebelles at straits and passages, wher ye be lyke to anoye theym, and I, wth suche force as I can make, shall, wth as moch spede as I can, wyn to you for yo^r assistance and the repression of theym, if they begyn soner wth you then in these partyes, as God knoeth, who kepe you. At Lathom, the xiii daye of November.

News of such vexatious incidents had reached the King,¹ as he told Shrewsbury in a letter of the 14th, which further stated, that the Duke of Norfolk would be immediately sent to Doncaster with instructions² for treating with the rebels. It was indeed very necessary that an agreement should be arrived at. There was "continual news of new outrages against the appointment at Doncaster," writes Norfolk at this date to Lord Darcy.³ Constant bickerings and recriminations were taking place,⁴ which threatened to be "an impediment to the next meeting at Doncaster."⁵ The proceedings of the Earl of Derby, who did not trust "the people of the shire where it borders on Lancashire and Yorkshire, near Whalley and Salley," and who kept "espial everywhere,"⁶ were a subject of complaint. Aske wrote to Darcy on the 22nd that the council of York "require Darcy to write to the lord Steward to send in post to the Earl of Derby to make no commotion in Lancashire. There is such mustering there, that the commons adjoining cannot be kept in order for dread of being overrun."⁷ The same day Darcy wrote as required: "News has arrived that the Earl of Derby is busy assembling folks, whereupon the council at York have written me a letter, of which I enclose a copy. Unless your Lordship write me an answer to send to them at York, I fear this will stop the meeting (at Doncaster) and turn to great business, for the wild countries adjoining Lancashire are in such

¹ L. & P., 1063.² *Ib.*, 1064.³ *Ib.*, 1065.⁴ *Ib.*, 1112-15, 1167.⁵ *Ib.*, 1122-3.⁶ *Ib.*, 1118.⁷ *Ib.*, 1134.

areadiness, that I fear they will not be stayed, if the Earl of Derby set forward."¹

Perhaps it is to the following letters of Nov. 17 that reference is made when mustering is spoken of :—

XXIII.

A Lre sent to Willm fitton, Deputy Steward of ffurnesse. The teno^r wherof soloith the next Lre sequent.

XXIV.

[Hist. MSS. Com. Rep., vi. 446 ; L. & P., 1092.]

A Lre sent to the gentilmen of ffurnes.²

Welbeloved, I comēnd me to you. And wher it is thought, that [the] comōns of the Barony of Kendall intend to cum into ffurness and Cartmell, and ther to take men Sworn to theym accordyng to their unlawfull appetits, and levye sōmes of money of the Kings subiects corn and vytailes ther for the maynteñnce of their peruerse purpos and other evyll dedes ; Therfor I haue writon to Willm fitton, my Deputy at ffurnes, willing hym, that in case they herafter do attempt any suche thinges, That then he shall assemble all the strenght he can make in his office, And calling to him all my ſuants and teñnts in those partyes, wth the ayde and assistens of the gentilmen of the Cuntrey ther, by all the ways, polyces and devyses that he can ymagyn, endevo^r hym

¹ L. & P., 1140.

² Upon Wolsey's request the stewardship of Furness, which had been held by Thomas, second Earl of Derby, was granted to Edward, third earl. The letter containing the assent of the House to the Cardinal's request is of 16th July, 1528 (L. & P., iv. 4522. The full text of this letter is given *Annal. Furn.*, p. 311). See the Earl of Derby's letters to the Earl of Northumberland, in which he maintains his claims to the office, Part III., Nos. 47, 61.

to wthstand their said inter^{ss}, And to apprehend and take as many of theym as he can, if he be of power and habyltye so to do, by Dynt of Sword or other polytyke meanes. And yf in case he be not hable thus to do, yet at the Least waye y^t he kepe his strenght wholly together, as he can, soo y^t he may be hable and redy to ſve the King and me, when he shalbe called vpon. And if in case that he know, that they presume to invade the Cuntrey from Lancaster towards Preston, that then he, wth suche strenght as he can make, cum after theym, and advance forward towards me, as fast as he convenyently can. And, God willing, I shall mete theym, or [*before*] they passe through the Cuntrey, to their displeasures. Wherfor I desir you, in the Kings behalf and for my sake, to Joyn wth my said Deputye wth all yo^r strenght and power, if any suche things do chance; And to take the best direc^ōn ye can for the execu^ōn of the premisses, and the Resistens and Suppression of their sayd malicio^s enterpr^ses. And I woll vndertake, that the Kings magesty will not only giff you his herty thanks, but also ye shalbe recompensed for your wages. And I woll ye shall advertyse all the inhabitants nere you, y^t if in case they haue made any othe to the co^mons contrary to theeffect herof, they be nother bondon by Gods Law nor Mannes Law to ob^ſve the same; Considering principally their allegiance due to our said Sou^{er}aign Lord, and their former Othe lately made to his Highness. And thus fare ye well. At my Manor of Lathom, the xvii day of November.

The danger that was incurred may be seen from an order taken at York, Nov. 22, "that if Lancashire musters, then Craven, Kendall, Dent, Sedber, Lonsdale, and Fornes shall likewise muster, and send word to the Captain of the demeanour of Lancashire."¹ Accordingly, on receipt of Darcy's letter of the 22nd, Shrewsbury, as he informed Darcy,² wrote on the 24th to

¹ L. & P., 1135.² *Ib.*, 1153.

the Earl of Derby, charging him in the King's name to make no further mustering till he hears from Norfolk.¹ To this letter he received a reply on Nov. 27, in which Lord Derby said, that "he had assembled his friends in Lancashire to be ready to serve the King, not to invade the commons."² Shrewsbury's letter to the Earl, if Darcy is to be believed, "stopped great businesses intended by the Earl's neighbours."³ To this date belongs the conference at York.⁴

The Earl might be not altogether displeased at receiving orders to hold his hand; for though in the following letter, which according to its date should come somewhat earlier, but may be conveniently placed here, Henry states his intention of discharging all claims, yet, as may be inferred from a later communication (No. XXVIII.), the expenses incurred in raising the country were not always promptly repaid.

XXV.

[Hist. MSS. Com. Rep., vi. 446; L. & P., 1074.]

The Copy of the Kings Lre sent to my Lord by Sr Jamys Layburns⁷ Quant and receyued the xx day of November.

Right trusty and right welbeloved Cosyn, we grete you well.
And wher as lately, conformably to our comāndment, you levyed

¹ L. & P., 1154.

² *Ib.*, 1187.

³ *Ib.*, 1209.

⁴ *Ib.*, 1155.

⁵ Sir Jamys Layburn of Cunswick, knight of the shire for Westmoreland in 1541 (*Hist. of Chantries*, C. S., lx. 230). Apparently it was to his interest to support the new order of things, for, writing to Cromwell on Oct. 8, 1536, he says: "Whereas at your request my lord Admiral promised you that I should be farmer of a benefice belonging to the monastery of Cartmell or Conyshyd, pray show my nephew Thos. Cayrus your further pleasure in the same" (L. & P., 608). At the time this letter was written he was active in the King's cause. Sir Thomas Wharton writes to Cromwell on Oct. 11 stating, that "Sir James Layborn has been very diligent in the

our people in those partes to haue wth the same executed our pleasur at Salley, and that we consider the charges of the conduct and otherwise did amount to a greater sōme of money, then we wold eyther charge you, the gentilmen, or other our good subiects therwthall, moost thankfully acceptyng your only good willes to ſue us, lyke vere true and faithfull legemen, aganst o^r Rebelles, Trayto^rs and Enemyes; Whiche, we perceyved by yo^r adūtisments, procedings & otherwise, were as willing and redy therunto, as we were to desir the same: We have determyned to make a convenyent recompense to all o^r said good subiects, that went with you or were redy to ſve vs by your cōmandment. And therfor we desir and pray [you] not only to publishe this o^r intent in all p^ties of the cuntry therabowts, but also to cause all the Gentilmen and Townshippes, that dyd then ſve us, to make vnto you true Certificat of the number of the men, that eūry of theym broght for that purpose; And the same to send vs wth convenyent diligence, declaring the distance of places in their travaill by your l^{tes}, And what recompense you think convenyent for eūry of theym. And we shall here resolute vppon the certeynty of that we will do, and send money incontenently vnto you for the indelaid payment of the same. Yeuen under o^r Signet at o^r Castell of Wyndesor, the xv day of November, in the xxviii yere of our Reign.

But that there was some little dissatisfaction among the King's subjects will appear from the following letter of the 27th:—

King's service upon the West Marches. He dwells in the country of Kendal, the inhabitants whereof be very troublous" (*ib.*, 666). Later on the reports of him are not quite so favourable. In a letter of Dec. 5, sent to the King by the Earl of Derby, the writer speaks of hearing, that "Sir John Townley and Sir James Layburn are much with the commons, and are, some say, sworn to them. Many say that Sir James was sworn more than a month ago" (*ib.*, 1251). However, in the following year he was with Southwell and Sir Marmaduke Tunstall at Furness (see *ante* note, p. 47).

XXVIII.

[L. & P., 1178, from original in Record Office.]

Right trusty and right welbiloved Cosin, we grete you well ;
Advertiseing you, that we haue seen and pused at good length
your lres of the date of the xix day of this month, directed unto
our right trusty and right welbiloved Cosin and Counsellor,
Therle of Sussexe, your brother,¹ by the contynnt wherof we
not only appceyve the towardnes and good hert, which our right
trusty and welbeloved the Lord Montegle hath to do vnto vs
3vice, wth all his force possible, in your cumpany, for the
repression and vtter svbduyng of our Rebels, but also vnder-
stonde by the same, that o^r good subiects in those parties doo
sumwhat cumplayn, that such charges as they have susteyned in
puttyng theymselves in aredynes and reparing vnto you, geuyng
their attendance too execut that thing, which were by you on
our behalf [to] be comāded vnto theym, for the repression of
the saides Rebels, be not hitherto by vs defrayed and discharged.
ffor ansuarr wherunto we have thoght good by these our lres to
desir you, immediately vpon the receyt herof to cause a boke to
be made of the names of all suche persons, as dyd prepare
theymselves to 3ve vs in your late Journey towards Salley ; lymyt-
yng the distance of places from whens they cam, and the nomber
of the days they were furth. And we shall, vppon your advertis-
ment therof, sende vnto you suche somes of money, for the
satisfyyng and contentaçon of our said subiects in that behalf,
as shalbe requysyt and conveyent ; wherby they shalbe the
better encoraged eftsones to put theymselves in aredynes, when
soeuer ye shall, vpon our behalf, geue theym in comādmēt soo
to doo for the Repression of our Rebelles therabowts ; whiche

¹ Sussex had married Lord Derby's sister.

thinge we also signyfyed vnto you in our fformer lres. And forasmoche as by the tenor of the traytor Aske¹ is lres vnto John Atkynson, Capitaing of the comons in Kendall, insted in yo^rs, we do pceyve, that the said Aske emploeth all the craft and vngracious yngin, that he can devyse, not only to kepe and contynue our subiects in Yorkeshir in Rebellion, but also to provoke and styrr ovr comons in Lancashir, Cheschir and other our loving subiects therabowts to lyke attemptats, wherby, in case we shuld not haue at all tymes a sufficyent force in aredynes in those partyes for the staying of the same, their myght enswe forther inconvanience, our pleas^r is, that you shall

¹ Beyond the part he took in the Pilgrimage of Grace, not much is known of Robert Aske. He was of an old Yorkshire family, and belonged to a branch of it that was settled at Aughton, in the East Riding. In a chronicle written by a monk of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, he is said to be "a man of base parentage, yet of mervelous stomach and boldnes" (Camd. Soc., lxxvii. 285). He was an attorney and fellow of Gray's Inn, and it was on his way from Yorkshire to London, that he fell in with the rebels and was placed at their head. In the address which was issued in his name he is spoken of as "chefe capytayne off the conventyall assemble, or pylgremage" (S. P., i. 467). The subsequent proceedings until the disbanding of the rebels need not be here repeated. When that event had taken place, Henry wrote to Aske (Dec. 15), saying: "Trusty and welbiloved . . . We have conceyved a greate desire to speake with youe, and to here of youre mouthe the hole circumstance and begynning of that matier (the late rebellion); and for that purpose have addressed these our letters unto youe, by the whiche We commaund you, as our true and faithfull subgiect, for soo We doo nowe repute youe, to repaire unto our owne personne with al possible diligence, making no man privie therunto" (*ib.*, 523). Aske soon had opportunity to prove the faithfulness for which the King had professed to give him credit. In the following January a new insurrection under Sir Francis Bigod broke out in the East Riding, but with Aske's assistance was put down. This drew forth another letter from the King to him, expressing thanks for his recent conduct (*ib.*, 529). Notwithstanding, however, that pardon for earlier misdeeds and thanks for more recent services had been given, Aske, like Lord Darcy, became suspected. In May he was tried, and found guilty of treasonable practices, and "the twentie eight daie of June the Lorde Hussey, Sir Robert Constable and Robert Aske were carried on horsebacke from the Tower of London into their countries, and their to suffer execution of death according to their judgement. . . . Aske was hanged in the Cittie of Yorke in chaines till he died" (Wriothesley's *Chronicle*, Camden Society, New Series, vol. xi). His confession is given S. P., i. 558-9.

as well put your force in such aredynes, that they may be hable wthin on howres warnyng to advance forwards to suche place, as you shall, the case so requiring, lymyt vnto theym, As also that you shall make a true and parfait estima^t, wth what number of habull men you may be assured to 3ve us, in case vpon any new comotion We shuld eyther advance forwards for the repression of the saides Rebelles in our own person, or otherwyse lymyt your force to joyn wth other our puissance in those partes. And forther more to thentent we myght be certyfyed parfairly of what inclinacōn o^r subiects be in those partyes, We desir and praye you to laye all the secret wayt and espiall throghowt all the said parties, that you can possible devyse, to inserche the affecōns of our people. And if by any meanes ye appceyve any our subiects inclyned to sediōn, we woll that wth all conveyent diligence ye shall travaill to apprehend the Auctours therof, and soo certyfye vs by yo^r L^{tes}, to thentent ye maye be fro vs the more ripely instructed how to vse and demeane yourself in suche case accordingly. Yeuen under our Signet at o^r Manor of Richemont, the xxvii day of November.

Of the steps taken in consequence, the Earl writes to the King on Dec. 5 :—

XXXI.¹

[L. & P., 1251, from original in Record Office. The detailed account of the force is also given there.]

A L^{te} sent to the Kings Highnes from my Lord.

Pleasith your magestye to be advertysed, that accordyng to your comāndments, comprised wthin your graces moost honorable L^{tes} to me dyrected, I haue not only published and

¹ On the same day Lord Derby writes to Cromwell and "thanks him for his kindness, which he perceives by his letters and from those of his friends," at the same time telling him of the letter to the King.—L. & P., 1252.

declared to suche your true and faithfull subgetts in theis partes, as I levyed, to haue wth the same executed your pleas^r at Salley, how that your Graces purpose and intent is, upon certificat by me to your highnes made of the numbers of men, that e^uy, Gentilmen and others, broght for y^t purpose, to make conveyent recompense to theym, but also I haue spoken and send vnto theym, to make and declare vnto me a true and perfect Certificat therof accordyngly. And the moost part of the Gentilmen have certefyed me, what number cam to theym, and the names and surnames therof, as more at large shall appere in a Boke remaynyng wth me. And di^use other gentilmen, y^t were in like maⁿer wth me at the tyme aforsaid, haue not as yet certyfied me of the parfait number and names of the same, w^{ch} cam with theym. And forsomoch as I cannot as yet make vnto your grace a perfect boke of the saids wholl numbers and of their names, Therfor I haue breifly made a boke of such numbers in grosse, as e^uy man hath certyfied, and an estyma^{co}n of such other numbers, as be yet uncertefyed; whych boke I haue send to your Highnes by this berer. And e^uy gentilman and other is glad of your Graces pleas^r in this behalf wth their moost humble and obedyent thankes. And wher your Grace [is] willing to be Certefyed of the distance of places, from whens the said men dyd travaill to me, and what re^{co}mpens I thinke conveyent, the length that sume cam is xxxiiii myles, sume xx myles, and sume not x myles; So that by estyma^{co}n I thinke, their was as many, or mo, that dyd not travell xvi myles, as aboue. And for the number of days that they were fro whom, sume were v days, sume iiii days, sume iii days, sume ii days; and by my estyma^{co}n allowyng iii days for e^uy person will amovnt nere vnto the Certeyntye of their cumyng and going to and fro me. And as towching any Recompense for Jaketts¹ or otherwise, I

¹ See note on No. xxvii., p. 57.

beseche your grace, that the same may be pondered by your Counsaill, and the money, that shall stand wth your pleas^r to be send for all the premisses, to be paid by a Treasurer or some other, suche as shall pleas your Magestye to lymyt, And not by my hands. And at the payment therof I shalbe glad by your comāndment to accompany your said Treasurer wth the best aduyse I can giff hym, and cawse parfait Bokes to be made of the names of the wholl numbers, and to be send to your Magestye; and what yo^r graces pleasur is, that I shall make a law.

Meanwhile matters were tending towards a settlement. The commission to "Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, and others to make answer in the King's name to certain articles lately presented by his subjects in the North, and to treat and conclude with John Lord Scrope, Thos. Lord Darcy, &c., upon any other articles, petitions, &c., to be presented by them," bears date Nov. 30,¹ and the safe conduct for Scrope and Darcy was issued on the same day.² On Dec. 2 the Privy Council wrote to Norfolk, that by a letter (sent Nov. 30)³ it appears, that Cumberland and Westmoreland are not so ill-disposed as was thought; and elsewhere the state of affairs was improving. "The King therefore thinks that if you first fortify the passages of the Doonne, Yorkshire men will be easy to deal with; for those parts being brought to some stay, Suffolk with the Lincolnshire men, my lords Steward, Rutland, Huntingdon, and others on the other side, and my lord Derby of the third part, with such preparation as his grace can shortly make, will be able to bring the rebels to obedience."⁴ Lord Derby was to have with him "the forces of Cheshire, Lancashire, and part of North Wales."⁵ On the 3rd a proclamation of the King's pardon was drawn up⁶ and sent to the Duke of Norfolk; it was, however, "to be retained in his

¹ L. & P., 1205.

² *Ib.*, 1206.

³ *Ib.*, 1207.

⁴ *Ib.*, 1228.

⁵ *Ib.*, 1236.

⁶ *Ib.*, 1235.

hands, unless very extremity shall force the same."¹ Another copy of the pardon was made on the 9th, and this was proclaimed at Doncaster on the 12th.² The Clarencieux King at Arms made proclamation of the pardon in various towns of the North during December, the last day of the year being the date for his visit to Lancaster. Beyond this date it will not be necessary to pass, for the Correspondence does not deal with the events of 1537.

There remains, however, one document to be given which is concerned with the events of 1536, and with it the second part of the Correspondence may be brought to an end.

XXIX.

[L. & P., 1230, from original in Record Office.]

A Copy of the examynacions of Percyvall Sanders, Willm Charnok and others Sworn and Examyned before Edward Erle of Derby, Sr Alexander Radcliff,³ Sr Willm Leylond,⁴ Sr Thomas Halsall⁵ knyghts, and

¹ L. & P., 1236.

² *Ib.*, 1276.

³ Sir Alexander Radcliff of Ordsall (see *Visitations of Lancashire*, C. S., xcvi. 64, lxxxi. 1). In the Salley expedition his company numbered 393 (L. & P., 1251).

⁴ See *ante*, p. 9. His company when he joined the Earl of Derby numbered 227.

⁵ Sir Thomas Halsall of Halsall. His family seems to have been closely connected with the Stanleys. His father, Sir Henry Halsall, was steward of the household, "a trustie friend," and one of the executors of the will of Thomas, the second Earl of Derby; and he himself "maryed Jane, dowghter and one of the heyres to John Stanley, sone to John Stanley, brother to the ould Earle of Derbye" (*Visit. of Lanc.*, C. S., cx. 166; see also C. S., lxxxi. 94). The name occurs several times in the *Stanley Papers* (C. S., xxxi.; see the Index to that volume). Sir Thomas Halsall is set down in the book of the Earl's Salley force with a contingent of 102 men, and a Henry Halsall brings a company of 11. This might be Sir Thomas's eldest son, Henry, who married a daughter of Sir William Molyneux of Sefton (C. S., lxxxi. 94), and thus came to be connected with the Radcliffes of Ordsall, Sir Alexander's daughter, Elinor, having married Richard, son and heir to Sir William Molyneux (C. S., xcvi. 94). As a further instance of the connection amongst those whose names are here mentioned, it may be added, that Sir William Molyneux, with an estimated retinue of 400, appears on the Earl of Derby's list (L. & P., 1251).

Bartilmew Hesketh,¹ Justices of Peace in the Com. of Lanc.

The sayd Percyuall sworn and examyned sayth, that on Tuysday at nyght, being the xxviii day of Nouember, about xii of the clokk the same nyght, ther cam one Hugh Parker, assocyat wth diuerse ill disposed and trayterous persons, their faces colored and disguysed, and in harnes, vnto the howse of the said Percyvall, he being in his bedde, and called vppon hym. And he, beyng sodenly called vpon, awoke, and asked, who was there. And the sayd Hugh said, he and the co^mons; and therewth they brake op^{on} his dore, and cam to hym lying in his bedde. And on of theym clapped a boke to his mouthe, and said, "thou must be sworne to god and the kyng and the co^mons." The said Percyvall answered and said, he wold not be sworn, and gat on his shirt; and when he was in his shirt, standing op^{on} his bedde, on of theym toke hym [*gave him a blow*] over the backe wth a mall, and stroke hym down, and said, if he wold not be sworn, he shuld see his own blud before his own eyes. And the said Percyuall, for feare of his lyff, was sworn vnto theym.

The said Willm saith, that the said Hugh Parker and his cumpany cam the sam nyght to his howse, and in lykewyse called vpon hym, and bad hym ryse. And he asked theym, "wherto?" And sodenly gat vp, and toke his wepon in his hand, and stode to the dore and kept theym owt, as long as he

¹ Bartilmew Hesketh of Poulton, a grandson of Thomas Hesketh of Rufford (*Hist. of Chantries*, C. S., lix. 164). His name occurs elsewhere in the Correspondence, and he is spoken of as the Earl's "servant" (see Part III., Nos. 39, 46). His son, Gabriel, who in right of his mother succeeded to a large estate, and settled at Aughton, was married to Jane, daughter of Sir Thomas Halsall (C. S., lxxxi. 94). A son of Gabriel, named Bartholomew, will be found mentioned in the *Stanley Papers* (C. S., xxxi. 124). The Hesketh pedigree is given in *St. George's Visitation of Lancashire*, C. S., lxxxi. 22.

was hable, till they wth force brake upon his dore, and manased hym to kyll hym. And he sayd, he wold not be sworn, but said he wold goo the morn after before Genkyn Gylybrond, who is a gentilman, and then he wo^{ld} doo as other dyd. but in no wise they wold take no answar of hym, but cawsed hym to be sworn. Also the sayd Percyvall and Willm saye, that the same nyght on Laurance Whyttyll owther was sworn or gaue theym money to spare hym ; As the wiff of the said Laurance shewed theym : And that Thurst⁹ Collyng and his sonne were sworn lykewise.

Hugh Parker, of the age of xvi yeres, examyned saith, that the same nyght aforesaid he was at on Bankes howse to get his hed rounded, and in retornyng whom he cam to an Alehowse, wher on John Pyper and John Yate were, And ther they had byn playing games and had blacked their faces ; and when they had ended their playe, the said John Yate put on his harnessse, and said they wold go vnto on Bonkes howse, and see whether he wold bee sworn to the Co^mons or no. And soo they went to the said Bonkes howse, and called vpon hym, and bad hym upon the doore ; and soo he dyd. And when they cam in, the said Pyper and Yate asked hym, whether he wold be Sworn to god, the kⁱng and the co^mons. And the said Bonkes said, he wold not be sworn. And then they asked hym, whether he wold not lend theym his harnes. And he sayd, he wold not care [*object*] to lend theym his harnes, and soo dyd. And then the Pyper put on his harnes. And forbicause that the saids Percivall and Willm had said before that tyme, that they wold not be sworn to the co^mons, [but rather ?] dye for it, The Pyper and Yate said they wold get [go to ?] their howses and to see their boldnesses. Wherupon they went to the said Willm Charnoks, and called vpon hym, and bad him upon the dore. And sone after he oponed the dore, and the Pyper asked hym, whether he wold be Sworn. And then the said Charnoke sayd to the sayd P⁹ker, he

wold cum to theym, yf they wold do hym no hurt. And the said P^{er}ker said, he wold awarrant hym. And therupon the Piper did swere the said Charnoke. And from thens they went to the said Percyvall Saunders, and Sware hym likewise. And when they had soo don, they cam to the said Alehowse agayn, And the Piper and Yate were their all night. And the sayd Hugh went whom to his fathers howse, thinkyng no hurt nor intendyng no yll, but thoght they had gon to make pastyme; for he being ignorant of their vngracyous purpose foloed theym, and no other thyng dyd nor intended to doo, but myrthe and pastyme, orelse he wold not haue foloed theym innowyse. And therupon he will put his liff, that he is no otherwise gylty therin.

John Yate, of the Knolle, in the p^{ar}ishe of Chorley, sworn and examyned saith, that on the said Tuysday, at nyght, after they had made games and pastymes, intendyng no hurt, he put on his harnes, and he and the piper and the said Parker wente vnto the forsayd Robarte Bankes howse, and opened his dore, and went in, and asked hym, whether he wolde be Sworn to god and the king and the co^mons. And he sayd, he was content to be sworn; but they dyd not force hym. And the said Bonkes sayd, they wold haue more pastyme. And the Piper asked his harnesse, and he toke him his Jack¹ and his Salet.² And they iiij persons went vnto Thurstan Collyngs, and oponed the dore, and went in, and asked hym, what hys mynd was, whether he wold be sworn to god and the King and theym; And said, that the Co^mons were cumyng betwixt that and Whalley. And they

¹ The jack was an old military outer garment, short or long, sleeved or sleeveless, lined lightly or warmly, according to the season.—*Lanc. Lieut.*, C. S., xlix. 59, note.

² Sallettes, salades (Ital. *celata*, Span. *celada*), were a sort of helmet or scull-cap, covering only the upper part of the head. That for infantry was a scull-cap with broad brim inclining downward, in which respect it differs from the morian (which otherwise it resembles), and had a ridge at the top.—*Lanc. Lieut.*, C. S., xlix. 42.

had a Boke, non of theym being lerned nor lettered, and soo swore the said Collynge to the King and theym, and that don left hym in his howse. And after they went to the abouesayd William Charnokes. And the said Hugh Parker called vpon hym, and bad him opone the dore, for he wold awarrant hym he shold haue no hurt, for he was their guyde. And the said Charnoke, knoing the said Hugh Parker, oponed the dore, and let theym in. And they asked hym, whether he wold be sworn to god and the king and theym. And he answered and asked, whether to-morow myght not 3ve. And the Piper said, no, he must nedes swere that nyght, for the comons were betwyxt that place and Whalley. And from thens they went vnto Percyvall Sanders howse, And sware hym lykewyse. And after they went to the howse of on Richard Wygan[s] wiff, and there they sware on Hugh Modesley to lyke purpose. And also went vnto the howse of on Laurence Whetyll, and lykewise sware hym wthout compul^{co}n of any of theym.

Robart Bankes examyned saith, that opone the said Tuysday, at nyght, as he sayt by the fire abowts x of the klokke, being in his shirt and redy to goo to his bedde, his doore being unbarred, cam a mynstrell and the forsaid Yate, and oponed hys doore, their faces being blacke and coled [*coaled*], And fyrstly cam vp to hym and sayd, he must sweare to be trve to the Comons, and said, yf he wold not swere, he shuld dye. The said Robart, being hymself wthout any cumpany but vii small Children, whiche pyteously cryed for feare of the said persons soo disguysed, and being sore mased wth feare, The sayd Mynstrell asked his harnes, and for feare of hys lyff and of his Childern he delyuered theym his harnes, being a Jacke and a Salet. And after they were cūmon in, he saith, the said Hugh Parker cam after theym, And that he had byn ther befor to round hym, becawse he, the said Bonkes, can Shaue and Round. And then the said Robart, as

shortly as they departed fro his howse, he went to a neighbours howse, on Collyngs, to geve theym knolage how he had byn intreted. And incontynently the said Mynstrell and Yate and the boy Parker cam unto the said Collyngs, being of lx yeres and above, and sware hym, and soo departed. And the said Bonkes went vnto his own howse wthout any thing doing.

PART III.¹

IN the two preceding sections the Earl has been seen playing the subordinate part in public affairs, which of necessity belongs to a subject; in the section which follows, he appears as the head of a great house, the wielder of authority, not its servant, and of authority little less than royal.² The establishment he maintained was little inferior in extent and splendour to that of the sovereign. The same plan was adopted for the constitution of the household, and the domestic officers had the same titles and style. The Earl, like the King, had his Steward, Treasurer, and Comptroller of the Household, his Grooms of the Bedchamber, and Clerks of the Kitchen; and men like Moore of Bankhall, who was Steward of the Household,³ and Sir Richard Sherburn, who was Treasurer, served him. Like the King, too, the Earl had his Council, before which an offender might be summoned, or with which he might consult. To one with whom he was "not content" he writes: "If ye intend to have me to be good Lord to you, upon knolage geven to you by my counsaill resort unto theym at Lathom for the forther proffe herin: To thentent that suche order may be taken therein, as shall accorde to your demeryts."⁴ At another time, when there is variance to pacify, he reports: "I have desired Sir John Towneley, knyght, and also caused some of my counsaill with him, to here and examyn the said variance."⁵ And writing to the "Lord President of the Kings Counsaill," he requests that a matter may be res-pited, until "I and my Counsaill" can take steps in it.⁶ For the

¹ In this part the documents are not given quite in full: the formal phraseology, more especially when it is repeated, is not always printed *in extenso*.

² See his titles, No. 1, note.

³ No. 2.

⁴ No. 42.

⁵ No. 51.

⁶ No. 58.

maintenance of a splendid position there were splendid possessions. Of course the names of Knowsley and Lathom occur in the Correspondence; but passing by these there will be found many, which less immediately suggest the name of Stanley, to bear witness to the extent of the possessions of that house. There is a manor at Bicester,¹ another at Colham,² the lordship of Holand,³ of Hawarden,⁴ of Epworthe;⁵ there is much property whose rent is to be paid at Ellesmere;⁶ there is a park at Toxteth,⁷ another at Arnishead;⁸ there are lands at Burscough, at Ormskirk,⁹ at Furness;¹⁰ there is the swannery in Axholme.¹¹ The Earl has many ecclesiastical benefices in his gift: there is an "armytage and chapell" at Bicester to which he presents,¹² he is the patron of the rectory of Blackedon,¹³ he has in his hands and disposition the proctorship of two churches in the Isle of Man,¹⁴ he has a "chapell donatyve" in the parish of Thornton.¹⁵ Of the offices he holds the Correspondence mentions the stewardships of Whalley,¹⁶ Furness,¹⁷ and Delacres.¹⁸ He is seen to be master forester of Macclesfield Forest;¹⁹ he appoints to the office of sergeant of the Watergate in Chester;²⁰ he is Lord of Man, and writes "To my Lieutenant and all other my officers in my Isle of Man;" there, too, he appoints the Deemster,²¹ and his authority in the private affairs of the inhabitants is illustrated by his letter to the wife of Thomas Norris, where he says: "Forasmoche as ye be my wido, I dowt not but accordynge to your dutye ye will take myn advyse" and marry the person recommended by the Earl.²² When danger was threatening the island, it was his duty to see to its security.²³

These are a few of the points in this part of the Correspondence, to which attention may be drawn to illustrate the position of its

¹ No. 1.

⁵ No. 15.

⁹ No. 62.

¹³ No. 9.

¹⁷ Nos. 47, 61.

²¹ No. 5.

² No. 1.

⁶ Nos. 33, 36.

¹⁰ No. 56.

¹⁴ No. 14.

¹⁸ No. 54.

²² No. 37.

³ No. 3.

⁷ No. 2.

¹¹ No. 15.

¹⁵ No. 30.

¹⁹ No. 44.

²³ No. 48.

⁴ No. 6.

⁸ No. 21.

¹² No. 1.

¹⁶ No. 40.

²⁰ No. 55.

author. The position was a splendid one, but, as a reference to the same Correspondence will show, was not unattended by the cares that usually accompany such greatness. At one time the Earl has to write to the parson of Thorneton, whose predecessor "more of his froward and covetous mynd than of any ryght or iuste tytle troubled my Preist, which I did admyt unto the chapell donatyve in your parishe of Thorneton," and has to try to make good his claim by sending papers in proof of it, and to give notice that he meant to defend his right.¹ At another the bailiffs and rentgatherers of Malasaseneke are the parties in fault. "I will ye knowe I do consider ye have not in tymes past don your duties to me, and truly and diligentely served me, and made payments of that that ye ought to have done, whiche is comen to your hands; and more might have comon to your handes, if ye had don your diligence accordyng as good offycers ought to have done."² From the same estate, but from a person of rather higher position, came further trouble. Sir Roger Puleston had occupied without warrant or patent from the Earl the office of steward in Malasaseneke, and retained four marks yearly as his fee. The conduct in his office of the apparently self-constituted steward calls forth the following very unfavourable judgment from the Earl: "For any thing that I can perceyve, ye have don me vere small pleasure, or non at all, nother in aydyng the Rentgatherers and bailiffs to levye my duties, nor otherwise, but rather by your procurement I have susteyned losse, hinderance, and delays for my duties by the Bailiffs who you procured to be in office, allegyng honestie and gravitye in theym." Accordingly there must be amendment or a giving up of the office.³ On one occasion a tenant, Richard ffyshe, has to complain of many injuries and vexations, and the Earl must interpose to protect him.⁴ On another the case of Parson ffouler engages the Earl's attention, and he must write to the Prior of Lytham on behalf of one

¹ No. 30.² No. 35.³ No. 36.⁴ No. 39.

whom he describes as "a ffrynde of myn." Another cause of trouble, not unknown at the present time, is seen to exist in the Earl's day—poaching. John and Richard Burghe and others "hunted within the fforest of Macclesfield and dayly misused theymselfs anends the King's game ther, and also made asaut upon the Earl's servant;" while Sir William Ratclif was not sufficiently active in seeing that the offenders were punished.¹ Nearer home there was unlawful hunting the deer in Lathom Park, which is the occasion of two letters from the Earl.² A more serious case of variance is found in the claim made by the Earl of Northumberland to the office of steward of Furness, about which two letters were written.³

But enough, it is hoped, has been said with regard to the subject matter of these letters to show that they are not lacking in interest, though it is an interest of a different kind from that which may be claimed for the rest of the Correspondence. Those who read them will, I think, be ready to admit, that when Sir Henry ffarington preserved copies of the Earl of Derby's letters, he did a pleasant service for the members of the Chetham Society:

Patents and Warrants Concess. p Dñm Edwardū Com. Derb.
Anno xxiiii^o R. R. Henr. VIII^{ti}.

I.

*Bissetor Army-
tage and
Chapell.*

Edward Erle of Derby,⁴ Lord Stanley and Straunge,⁵ Lord

¹ No. 44.

² Nos. 41, 42.

³ Nos. 47, 61.

⁴ The full list of his titles is thus given in the funeral certificate: "The Right Hon^{ble} Edward Erle of Derby, Viscompt Kynton, Lord Stanley, Lord Strange of Knockyn, Lord Mohun, Lord Bassett, Lord Burnell, Lord Lacy, Lord and Kyng of Man and the Isles."—*Fun. Cert.*, C. S., lxxv. 4.

⁵ The title, Lord Strange, came through George, son of the first Earl. He married Jane, daughter and heir to John, Lord Strange of Knockin, and had summons to Parliament by the title of Lord Strange in 22 Edward IV., and to the time of his death. Dying before his father, the earldom passed to his son, Thomas, who was succeeded in it by his son Edward, the third Earl.

of Man¹ & the Iles, To all men to whom &c., greeting. Know ye, that wheras ther is an Armytage and a Chapell,² sytuat & buylded vpon my grounde in my Manor of Bisseto^r,³ in the Co. of Oxford, in the honor of God & St John Baptyste, which now ys vacant; Wherfor I, the said Erle, do geve and grant the s^d Armytage & Chapell wth the app^{ts} now belongg, or that hereafter shall belong vnto the same, vnto Raynold Sklater, Preiste, to inhabit & dwell ther, soo longe as hee shall contynue Arymyte, & make his residence & abydyng ther; Hertly desiring all well disposed people, and in especyall my louers and fryndes, to bee unto hym consortynge & ayding wth their charytable Alms & supporta^{co}n. And the rather at this my instance and request. In witsesse &c.

2.

*Will'm More
Squier.*

I woll and comāde you to pmyt & suffre my trusty and right welbeloved ſvant and Steward of my Howsehould, Willm More,⁴

¹ The Isle of Man was forfeited to the Crown in 1399, when the Earl of Wiltshire was beheaded for high treason. It was then granted by Henry IV. to the Earl of Northumberland; but on Percy's rebellion the King employed Sir John Stanley, great-grandfather of the first Earl of Derby, to reduce the island, and rewarded him by the grant of this lordship, to be held of the Crown of England by homage, paying to the King a cast of falcons at every coronation. This took place in 1406.

² A notice of this hermitage occurs in Edward III.'s reign, when the King granted a licence "Nicholas Jurdan de Burcester hermitae, custodi capellae beati Johannis Baptistae de Burcester," to found a hospital in Burcester.—Kennett's *Par. Ant.*, i. 113. Kennett does not give the date of foundation of the hermitage.

³ This manor came through the Stranges. Alice, widow of Thomas Earl of Lancaster, during her widowhood had resigned the manor of Burcester to the younger Hugh Despenser. She subsequently married Eubulo le Strange, a younger son of John Le Strange of Knokyn, and after Despenser's execution she and her husband received again from the King the manor of Burcester, 5 Edward III.—Kennett's *Par. Ant.*, i. 561, 582.

⁴ He is entered in the Visitation of 1533 as "of the Bancke howse," in that of 1567 as "of Bank hall." An earlier designation of the family than either is More of More Hall, from a residence whose situation is still marked by the modern name of Old

Squyer, to haue the gystement¹ of ii horses or geldyngs, in Somer & Wynter, wthin my P^oke of Tokesteth,² wthout any thyng painge therefor, during my pleas^r: ffaile ye not herof, as ye tendre my ples^r and will advoyde the contrary. And thys my wryting shalbe your suffycyent Warrant & discharg in this behalf. Geven at my Manor of Colham,³ the day of 24th H. 8.

3.

John David. Edward &c. to Sr Willm Stanley,⁴ Knyght, Steward of Hawarden,⁵ & to all other my Offycers & inhabitants ther &c.

Hall Street in Liverpool. The More family were also lords of the manor of Kirkdale, and here a more important seat than More Hall was built, known by the name of Banke Hall.—*Visit. of Lanc.*, 1533, C. S., cx. 138. William More, who is mentioned in the letter, married Alice, daughter of Sir William Ireland of the Hutt, in the county of Lancaster, by whom he had seven sons and two daughters. The eldest son, John, whose name occurs later (No. 6), married Anne, daughter and sole heir of Thomas Hawarden of Chester. Among those who took part in the Salley expedition (see Part II.) was William More, with a contingent of 13 (L. & P., 1251). See for further notices of this family *Stan. Pap.*, vol. ii., C. S., xxxi. 171, and *The Moore Rental*, *ib.*, xii.

¹ "Agistment, the feeding of cattle in a common pasture, at a stipulated price. The agistment for a horse during the summer in 1531 cost 3s. 4d."—Halliwell's *Dict.* The word occurs below in the form "wystement." (No. 7.)

² In 1529 the King by letters patent appointed Sir Thomas Butler chief forester of Simonswood, Croxteth and Toxteth, and parker of Toxteth and Croxteth, with their herbage and parkage. Toxteth seems (see note, p. 43) to have been in the King's hands in 1524 on account of the Earl of Derby's minority, and, notwithstanding the above mentioned letters patent of 1529, to have been at the date of this letter granted to the Earl. Much later, in 1561, the Earl, on a dispute with the Corporation of Liverpool, deprived the burgesses of their privilege of pasture in Toxteth.—See Picton's *Liverpool*.

³ The manor of Colham came through the same channel as that of Bicester. Eubulo le Strange in 5 Edward III. obtained a grant from the Crown, in which the King remitted all claim to the manor of Colham, in the county of Middlesex, and to several other manors, granting them in tail to the said Eubulo and Alice his wife, and to the heirs of the said Eubulo.—Kennett's *Par. Ant.*, ii. 16. It was at Colham that the Earl's father died.

⁴ Sir William Stanley of Hooton (?). He attended with a force of 121 men on the Salley expedition.

⁵ See note, No. 6.

Know ye me, the forsayd Erle, in coñon of the faithfull ðvices w^{ch} my ðvant John Daud hertofores hath done to mee, & w^{ch} herafter during his lyf he intendeth to do, to haue demysed & set to ferme to him iiii closes, wth thapp^{ts}, lying in the Lordsp^e of Mohuntzdale,¹ late in the tenure & hold^gs of Robert ap John Wyn, To hold &c. for xxi yers, &c.

4.

*The Steward-
ship of Holand.*

*Alexander
Standishes*

Edward Erle &c. to all my Offycers, ffreholders, tenants, resiants & inhab^{ts} within my Lordeshyppes of Holand² and e, and to eury of them, gretynge. Know ye, that I haue ordeynd, constytut and made, & by these &c., my trusty and welbeloved S^ovante, Alexander Standyshe,³ to be Steward of my said Lordshyppe of Holond &c. in the Co. of Lancastre, To have &c. the s^d offyce from hensforth duryng my pleasur, taking the yerly wages & fee of v markes, at feastes ther usual, by evon porcoñs, by the hands of the Receiv^r or Baylyff ther. Wherfor I comānd all my s^d Offycers & ðvants to be ayding & assist^gs the s^d Alex^r in all thyngs concerning my weale, honor & p^rfitt, as they shall tender my pleas^r. Geven at my Manor of Colham, the day of August in the xxiiii. H. 8.

5.

*The Office of
Dymster in the
Isle of Man.*

Edward Erle &c. Know ye me, the forsayd Erle, to have

¹ See note on Hawarden, No. 6.

² Holand, in the parish of Wigan. The manor of Holland was granted to Thomas, first Earl of Derby, by Henry VII. There was a priory in Holland, to which reference is made No. 62.

³ Alexander Standyshe, son of Raffe Standyshe of Standyshe, and his wife Alice, daughter of Sir James Haryngton. He married Anne, daughter of Sir William Molyneux, and had one son, Rafe, and six daughters (*Visit. of Lanc.*, 1533, p. 103). His name appears in the Earl of Derby's "boke" as bringing 107 men to Salley, but he died not long after that expedition (38 Henry VIII., Dugdale's *Visit. of Lanc.*, C. S., lxxxviii. 291); and in 1539 the Earl is seeking the wardship of his son Rafe (No. 59).

given and granted unto Thomas Jamesbury, on of my Soldiers wthin the Castell of Man, the rowme & office of on of the Dymysters ¹ wthin my said Isle, w^{ch} Thomas Norres ² lately had & occupied, To Have &c. during my plesur, wth such wages, fees, proffitts, advantages and emolumentes as the s^d Tho^s Norres lately had, to be had & yerly perceyued of the Issues, reuenus. & p^rofitts of my s^d Ile duryng my plesur, at the tearms ther usuall. Wherefore I wyll & comānd all my s^d Offycers to be ayding, fauoring & assist^g my s^d Dymyster, as often as the Case shall requyre. And &c.

6.

Edward Erle &c. To all my Offycers, S^ovants, teñnts, & freholders wthin my Lordshippe of Hawarden,³ in Mohuntz, Hope,

*The Office of
Receiv^r of
Hawarden
and Mold.*

¹ "The Deemsters, or Judges, are the first public Magistrates of the State. . . . They sit as Judges in all Courts, either for Life or Property; they have always been two, one for each Division of the Isle; they are stiled in the antient Court Rolls Justiciarii Domini Regis . . . By the Advice of the twenty-four Keys they may in all new and uncommon cases declare what the Law is, in such cases wherein the Law is not fully exprest."—*Hist. of House of Stanley*, p. 223.

² For the letter of the Earl to his widow see No. 37. In the pedigree (No. III.) of Norres of Speke, given in Ormerod's *Miscellaneous Palatina*, occurs the name of a Thomas Norres, who might possibly be the one mentioned in the letter. He was of Blacon, in the county of Chester, and might have been about thirty at the time of writing. His wife was Anne, daughter of William Brampton of Norfolk. Another possible Thomas Norres, of Orford, is mentioned p. 26.

³ By a writ dated Oct. 14, 1443, Henry VI. granted to Sir Thomas Stanley the castle, lordships, and manors of Hawardyn and Mohandes-dale. The castle, manor, and lordship of Hope are included in a grant made to the son of this Sir Thomas by Richard III. in 1484, a grant which also included the manor and vill of Northwich. After the execution of James, seventh Earl, in 1651, his estates were confiscated, and the Flintshire property of the Stanleys, with the exception of Hope, was not afterwards recovered. For further accounts of the connection of the Stanley family with Mold see vol. 2 of the *Cheshire Sheaf*, in which are several articles on the subject by Mr. Trevor Parkins, to whose kindness I am indebted for this note. In Gough's *Camden* it is noted that, "on the first regulation of the Welsh counties by Henry VIII., Molesdale, and the continuation of it which went under the name of Hopesdale, were annexed to the county of Denbigh, but 33 Henry VIII. were given to Flintshire."—p. 596. Merford is a little to the east of Hope.

*John More
gen'.*

Hopedale, Merford, Hosselty, Bryndley, Namptwiche, Northwiche, and Maule, greting. Know ye, that in coñson of the faithful and true ſvices hertofore don to my Lady my Mother¹ and me by my trustie & welbeloved S^ovante, John More,² Gentilman, Sonne and heire unto William More, Squier, and Steward of my howshold, & soo intendeth to do to me & my heirs hereafter, I therfore haue ordeyned, cōstytut & made, and by &c., the s^d John my Receiv^r particuler of all my Man^{rs}, Lshps, Lands & ten^{ts} af^d, wth the yerly fee of x ponds sterlyng, wth all other comōdyties & p^offitts to the s^d office belonging or any wyse ap^opt^g, & wth resonable costs & expenses at all tymes, in as ample mañer as John Byrkhed, my late Recyuo^r there, or any other heretofore haue had for the occupying of the same : To have &c. by himself or his suffycient Deputy or Deputyes during my plesur, hee to take and perceyue the s^d fee by his own hands, at the feast of S^t Michell tharch^l & thanⁿ of o^r Lady, by even por^oñs. Wherefore I wyll & comānd all my s^d offycers, ſvants &c., to be ayding [the] s^d John or his Deputy or Deptyes, as yee wyll haue me to be yo^r good Lord, & in avoyding the contrary at yo^r perills. Yeuen under my Signet & Sign Manuall at my Mano^r of Colham, xxiii Sepr^r, xxiiiith y^r of the reign of our Sou^l Lord, King Henry VIIIth.

7.

*Thomas
Tyldesley.*

Edward Erle &c. to my Lieutenant³ and other my Officers of the said Ile for the tyme being, gretyng. Know ye, that I, the s^d Erle, wyll & command you, that ye suffer my welbeloved

¹ This was Anne, daughter of Edward, Lord Hastings, and sister of George, first Earl of Huntingdon. She married for her second husband John Radcliffe, Lord Fitzwalter, and died in 1550.

² See *ante*, No 2.

³ Henry Stanley is given as the governor of the island in 1533 (*Hist. of House of Stanley*, p. 237).

S^ovant, Thomas Tyldesley,¹ Water Baylyff² of the said Ile, to have wystement for ij horses, so^mer e wynter, during my plesur, in such of my pastures wthin the said Ile as by you shalbee thought most convenyent; to the intente that he may do me S^ovice wth in the same in my necessary busynes wthin the s^d Ile, as the case shall requyre. Wryten at my Manor of Lathom, the xix day of July, in the yere of o^r Lord God M.D.XXXIII.

8.

Thom's
Tyldesley,
Squier.

Edward Erle &c. to Thom^{as} Tyldesley, squier, my Lieutenant, and to all other Lieutenants and other my offycers wth in the said Ile for the tyme now being, gretying. Know ye, that I, the sd Erle, for and in con^{so}on of such service as —

(No more in the MS.)

9.

Advocacō de
Blackedon
concess. Thom
Holcroft et
aliis.

O^mnib³ x^pi fidelibus ad quos hoc presens scriptū p^uerit Edwardus Comes Derbei, Dⁿs Stanley e Straunge, verus et indubitatus Patronus Rectorie siue Ecclⁱe p^ochialis de Blackedon, in com. So^m, Bathon. Dioc., sa^tm in d^{ño} semp^l. Nouerit me, p^{re}fatū com., dedisse e concessisse, ac p^{re}sentibus do et concedo, Thome Holcroft,³ gen^ooso, Thome Olney, Joh^h Bothe de London et Johi Stow, yoman, cōjunctim, e cuilibet eo^r p^{re} se devisim, proximū Advocationem, dona^{co}em e present. d^{ce} Ecclⁱe siue

¹ Thomas Tyldesley, of Wardley, died in 1556 (see the inventory of his goods, *Lanc. and Ches. Wills*, C. S., New Series, 3, p. 13). His wife was Jane, daughter and heiress of Hugh Birkenhead, by whom he seems to have had many children (*Wills and Invent.*, C. S., xxxiii. 47). The eldest son, Thurstan, like his father, was connected with the affairs of the Derby family (see No. 19). In 1540 Thomas Tyldesley seems to have been deputy-governor (*Hist. of House of Stanley*, p. 237).

² "The Water-Bailiff is in the nature of the Admiral of the Island, and sits Judge in all maritime affairs. He has the care of the customs, fisheries, wrecks, &c." *Hist. of House of Stanley*, p. 223.

³ See *ante*, p. 9, note 3.

Rectorie de Blackedon, cum per mortem, dimissionem, resigna-
 õem sive alio modo aliquo p̃mo et p̃ximo vacare contigit.
 Hend̃ &c. pro unica et p̃x vaca². Dat. apd London die
 Marcii a^o r. r. Hen. VIII. xxv et a^o dñi M.D.XXXIII.

Advocacõ de
*West Lydford*¹
concess. W.
More, T.
Tyldesley &
Rob. Byrkhed,
ad usum
Will'm
Stanley,
Capell'i.

10.

Advocacõ
Eccle'ie Sti
Martini vocat.
Barsot Sainct
Martyns
Sodiston (?)
Dioc. Concess.
Petro
*Leycester,*²
Rob. Byrkhed
& John
*Armetryding,*³
ad usum
Georgii
Leycester
Capell'i.

11.

¹ West Lydford, in the same county as Blackedon. In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* its value is given as £xvij. xiijs. iiijd., and the rector was Robert Rigbye.

² Peter Leycester of Nether Tabley, son and heir of John Leycester by his wife Alice, whom he married in 1499. Peter died in 1577. See also *Stanley Papers*, C. S., xxxi. 207.

³ John Armetryding is mentioned again in No. 22. In the *History of Bispham* (C. S., New Series, 10, p. 61) will be found a notice of the Armetriding family, which early in the seventeenth century was settled in or about Euxton, in the parish of Leyland. A John Armetriding was on the Preston Guild Roll of 1602; and another John died in 1684, leaving a son Thomas, who married Margaret, eldest daughter of Major Henry flarington of Werden.

Advocacō
Ecc'ie Sainte
Brigide¹ in
Insula Mannie
concess. Will'o
Syngleton²
Arm., Ricō
S. & Henrico
Syngleton, ad
usum Robti
Syngleton
Cl'ici.

12.

Advocacō
Rectorie de
Whicheford³
concess. Anne
Comitisse
Derbei
tantum.

13.

Concessionnes Anno xxix Henrici Octauī.

14.

Warrant¹ pro Georgio Esthed in Insulam Mannie formaliter
fact².

*Proctership of
ij Churches in
ye Ile of Man.* Edward Erle of Derby, Lord Stanley, &c., To my Lieuteñnt⁴
and all other my Officers wth in my Ile of Mann, and to all men
to whom this my present Wryting shall come to see, rede or

¹ Kirk-Bride or Bridget is one of the seventeen parishes into which the Isle of Man was divided, which were distinguished by the names of the churches. At Douglas was a Priory for nuns which was said to have been built by St. Bridget.

² In his will, made 1545 (printed in *Wills and Invent. of Archdeaconry of Richmond*, Surt. Soc., xxvi. 58), John Singleton speaks of his sons William and Henry, and of his wife Margaret, daughter of James Barton.

³ Whicheford, in the county of Warwick. In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* the rector's name is given as John Marten, the value £xix. viijs. vjd.

⁴ Sir Thomas Stanley held the office in 1537.

here, gretynge. Know ye me, the forsd Erle, in conſon of ſuch
 3vices as my welbeloved S^uante Rychard Mader, otherwise
 Barber, heretofore hath done unto me, & w^{ch} during his lyff he
 intendeth to do, To have geven, granted, & by this my &c., to
 the ſayd Richard, the Rowme of Proctership of the Churches of
 Kyrke Myghell and Kyrke Maughell,¹ wthin the ſaid Ile of Man,
 now in my hands and diſpoſi^{co}n ; And alſo have demysed and
 ſet to ferme to the ſayd Richard the ſayd Churches, and eyther
 of theym, To have, hould, occupie and inioye the ſame, to the
 ſayd Richard by hymſelfe or his ſuffycient deputye during his
 life, wth all profits, advantages and com^odyties belonging to the
 ſame ; The ſayd Rychard paying to me and my heirs ſuch
 Rents and Revenues, as was accuſtomed to be geven to the late
 Abbot of ffurneſſe² and his predeceſſors. Wherefor I will, that
 ye, my ſayd Lieuteⁿnt and all other my Offycers, be unto the ſd

¹ Kirk-Michael and Kirk-Maughold are two of the ſeventeen pariſhes into which
 the iſland was divided. St. Maughold was one of the early biſhops of the iſland ;
 ſaid to have been biſhop in 578 (*Hist. of Houſe of Stanley*, p. 231). The two churches
 here mentioned had been appropriated to the abbey of Furneſſ in 1299 by the biſhop
 of the iſland, at a time when the abbot of Furneſſ was guardian of Man. The
 inſtrument of appropriation is printed *Annal. Furn.*, p. 243. It may be noticed, that
 the connection between Furneſſ and the Iſle of Man dates from early times. In 1134
 Olave, King of Man, gave land in the iſland to the then abbot, on which to build a
 monaſtery, and the daughter houſe of Ruſhen was built. The ſame King was induced
 to grant, that the future biſhops of Man and the Iſles ſhould be elected out of Furneſſ
 (*Annal. Furn.*, p. 122), and the grant received confirmation by ſucceeding Kings
 (*ib.*, pp. 138, 158). At Furneſſ, Reginald, King of Man, was buried (*ib.*, p. 193). In
 the liſt of the monaſtery's poſſeſſions occur the following entries relating to the Iſle
 of Man (*ib.*, p. lxviii.) :—

Temporaltyes	{ There ys a parcell of lande apperteynenge to the ſame late Monaſtary, called Rouat wathe, lyenge betwene the Monaſtary of Ruſthyn and Caſteltowne in the ſaide Yle of Manne of the yerely value of	{ xij ^d .
Spiritualties	{ Also there ys apropryate to the ſaid late Monaſtary the perſonages of Seynt Mahold and Seynt Mighell within the ſaid Yle, whiche ben letten to fferme, and the curate ffounde, for the yerely rent of	{ vi ^{li} xiiij ^s iiij ^d .

² See previous note.

Rych^d & his suffycient Deputye ayding and, in all things lefull concerning the same, favouring & assistyng, As ye and eury of you tender my pleser, and will avoid the contrary at your pill. Writton at my Manor of Knowseley, the xxviith daye of Maye, the xxixth yere of the Reigne of o^r Souaigne Lord, King Henry the Eight.

15.

Be it knowen to all men by this present w^oting, that I, Edward Erle of Derby, Lord Stanley & Straunge, haue geven and granted &c. unto my right well beloved Cosyn, Sir John Hussey¹ Knt., Lord Hussey, the Office of Stewardship of my Manor or Lordship of Epworthe,² in the Isle of Axholme, or elsewhere wth in the Co. of Lyncolne or wth in the Co. of Yorke belonging to the said Manor of Epworthe, TO HAVE &c., to him or his suffycient Deputy or Deputies during the lyffe of the same Lord Hussey; having and receiving yearly, for the exercising thereof, durying the lyff of the s^d Lord Hussey, of the yssues & rents of my s^d Manor & Lands the so^me of viii^{li}, at the feastes of S^t Mychel tharchangel & Pasche, by evon por^{co}ns, by the hands of my Receiver of the Manor af^d; & with all other profetts &

¹ Sir John Hussey, Lord Hussey of Sleaford. He was chamberlain to the Princess Mary, and had the unpleasant task of communicating to her the King's pleasure "concerning the diminishing of her high estate of the name and dignity of Princess" (L. & P., 1533, No. 1139). Only a few days previous to this he had been one of the four lords who held the canopy over the infant Princess Elizabeth at her christening (*ib.*, 1111). Perhaps about this time suspicions might be entertained of his loyalty, for his name occurs in the list of those to whom, it was said, Elizabeth Barton's revelations had been shown (*ib.*, 1468). In the following year his office with the Lady Mary was at an end (*ib.*, 1534, No. 38), and he was justifying any suspicions that he may have aroused: he was in communication with Chapuys, and associated with Lord Darcy (*ib.*, 1206). In 1536 he was involved in the Lincolnshire rebellion, and in 1537 was arraigned along with Lord Darcy for high treason, and being found guilty was afterwards beheaded at Lincoln. See Wriothesley's *Chronicle*, Camd. Soc., New Series, xi. 62-5.

² The living of Epworth was long held by Samuel Wesley, the father of John Wesley.

comōdyties to the s^d offyce of old tyme vsed and accust^d, such excepted as I, the sayd Erle, haue heretofore granted by Wryting under my Seall to my S^ovant. Alexand^r Banaster,¹ now my Receiv^r of the s^d Manor & Lands. And forthermore I have demysed & to ferm letten to the sayd Lord Hussy all & every myn Ayreers, commonly called the Gam or the marke of Swannes, wthin the Ile afores^d, or elsewhere wthin the Co. af^d, or in the Co. of Yorke or Notyngham, late in the hands & tenure of Sir Robert Shefeld,² Knyght, or of Sir Robert Shefeld, Knyght, his Son, dec^d, wth the p^rfits & increase of the same, Yeylding to me such rent, at such tymes, as the s^d Sir Robert & S^r Robert his Son paid for the same: Provyded that it shall at any tyme during the said term be lawful for me, the said Erle, to repossess & take agayne into my own hands, vse and possⁿ for my own behalf the sayd Swaynnes, the said Lord Hussy being discharged from paym^t of rent for the same. And that the s^d Lord Hussy and his assyns shall at the end of the said term & at all other tymes kepe & leve the said Ayryeis of Swannes, the game or marke of Swannes, as well replenyshed as they shall be, when he receyueth theym at his first entre. And that Bills endented be made, between the said Lord Hussy and my Receiv^r of the said Manor for the tyme now being, what nombre of Swannes ther be at the said entre of the said Lord Hussy.

¹ Perhaps the son of Henry Banaster of the Bank by his second wife, Cicely. When the disturbances in Lincolnshire were taking place he was with the Earl of Derby at Knowsley (L. & P., 1536, No. 635). See *Visit. of Lanc.*, 1567, C. S., lxxxi, 67.

² Jane, sister of the second Earl of Derby, married Robert Sheffield. Sir Robert was an ancestor of Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham; his seat was at Butterwick, in the isle of Axholm. He had held lands in Lincolnshire belonging to the Duchy of Cornwall (L. & P., 1533, Nos. 166 (21), 419 (3)), and the wardship of his son and heir, Edmund, was granted to Sir George Bulleyn, Lord Rocheford (*ib.*, 419 (8)). Edmund Sheffield was made a baron by Edward VI.

And wheras I, the said Erle, haue hertofore made Sr John Byron,¹ Knyght, Maister of all my Game wthin the Realme of England, Neuertheles I, the s^d Erle, am agreid and graunte, y^t the said Lord Hussy shall haue the oversight of all my Game wth in the s^d Ile of Axholme, wth the assent of the said Sr John Byron, soe that the sayd Sr John be therunto agreeable; The sayd Lord Hussy yerly perceyving for the oversight in e^ury of my Parkes wth in the said Ile on Bucke in Somer and on Do in Wynter, and ouer that on Stagge of a hert in Somer and on hynde in Wynter, in the name of his ffee Dere. AND moreover I, the sayd Erle, will and comānd all my Receiv^{rs}, Bayliffs, Auditor^s, Kepers of Parkes & other my Offycers, and all my Teñts, & every of them, to be to the sayd Sr John Hussy, Lord Hussy, his Deputy or Deptyes fauling, obeying, ayding & assisting in exercysing of the sayd office, as they mynd to haue me for their good Lord, & will avoyd my displeasure. Gevon at my howse in London, the day of March, in the xxiiiith yere of the reigne of our Souaigne Lord, Kyng Henry the Eight.

¹ Sir John Byron of Clayton (*Visit. of Lanc.*, 1533, C. S., xcvi. 55). Sir John Byron seems at this time not to have set a good example as a guardian of game, for in a list of documents belonging to Cromwell is one "concerning the misdemeanors of Sir John Beron for hunting in the King's forest of Sherwood" (L. & P., 1533, No. 299, ix. B). Politically, however, he seems to have been sound, as in 1536, when Shrewsbury came to Sherwood on his march northwards, Sir John Byrren is in council with him (*ib.*, 1536, No. 562); and in the same year he is one of the three names on the Sheriff Roll for Notts. and Derby, though he was not chosen. In matters ecclesiastical he seems not to have been opposed to the Court. He was present when the abbot of Furness gave up the monastery, was one of those whom Sussex proposed should be sent to take the house into their rule and governaunce, was witness to the deed of surrender, which all the members of the house signed, and accompanied Southwell to Furness on the 23rd June, when the work of destruction was begun (*Annal. Furn.*, 347-352). He was not without his reward. In 1538 "a howse of chanons callyd Newstede" was in the custody of "Sir Johan Beryn" (*Suppress. Monast.*, Camd. Soc., xxvi. 215), and the custody became permanent. His private life was not exemplary (see *Stan. Pap.*, C. S., xxxi. 164, n.). The poet Byron was a lineal descendant of this first possessor of Newstead.

Dimissiones xxviiith R. R. H. VIII.

16.

Edward Erle of Derby &c. to all Men &c. Know ye me, the forsaid Erle, for certen cawses me mouing, and for a fyn to be to me payd, to haue demysed and granted, and by this my present &c, unto my welbeloved S^ovante, John Daud, all that my ferme & ten^t, called the Manor heys, wthin my Lordssp of Hawarden, wth all howses, cottages, & wth all herable lands, medows, closes, pastures & lesous belonging to the same, in as ample manner, form & fas^oon as S^r James Stanley¹ or S^r Willm Stanley lately had & occup^d the same, TO HAVE &c for the term of — yers without let, expulse, interrup^oon or the voca^oon of me, the said Erle, or my heirs hereafter: The said John & his heirs pay^g to me and my heirs the yerly rent of vii^{li}, at the f^este of S^t John Bapt. & S^t Martyn in Wynter, by even por^oons, lyke as other teⁿts of the s^d Lordshipp do use & be accus^td to pay. In witness &c. Dat. xith Sept., Anno R. R. Henr viii vicesimo octauo.

Dimissiones terrar^u et ten^u. fact. p Edwardū Com^o. Derbei, Anno vicesimo sexto Regni Regis Henrici VIII^{ui}.

17.

*Lathom
Manor*

THIS Indentur, made the xxii daye of Sept^r, in the xxvith yere of the reigne of o^r Sou^eaign Lord, King Henry viiith, Witnesseth, that I, Edward Erle of Derby, Lord Stanley & Straunge, have demysed & to ferm set, & by this &c, vnto my S^ovant, John

¹ Sir James Stanley of Crosshall was uncle to the third Earl of Derby (see *Visit. of Lanc.*, 1533, C. S., cx. 109). He was present on the Salley expedition with a force of 277 men, and is mentioned later in the correspondence as being steward of Burscough Priory (No. 62).

Orrell¹ gent., all & sing^r my demesne lands belonging to my Manor of Lathom, that ys to wyt, the Orchard & Gardyns, a close called Rylcare, & all other my closes & medows, called Duncothall, the Pynfold flatts, the Herholmes & the Lane, the Lytle Þrke, the Lytel Intake, Vlfynrigge, Mone Parke, Grete Thorrike, Litle Thorricke, Leyst Thorricke, Thake Myre, The Oxe howses and the Crofte belongyng to the same, The Oven howse, & the Berne wth the Dove howse there, with all & singl^r their app^{ts}, in Lathom af^d, To Have &c. from the fest of St Martin next for full xxi years. And duryng all the sayd term the sayd John shall sett & lett the said lands at his will & plesur to his moost proffit, behoue & advantage; Yieldyng & paying the yerly rente of xx^{ti} pounds at the Rent days ther accus^d, or wthin xx dayes aft^{ds}, by even por^{ci}ons; And also paying to me for the fyn and gressum² of the same xl^{ti} markes, to be paid in mannⁿ & form folowing, i.e. on the day of sealing herof, xx^{ti} marks; wherof I knowledge me to be fully contented & payd by this my wrytyng; & at the feast of St John Bapt. next ens^g, x marks; & at fest of Nativity of our Lord next foll^g, x marks, or wthin xl^{ti} days afterw^{ds}. And I, the s^d Erle, grant, that the s^d John & his heirs shall have conveyent & reasonable tymber in my Owlwoddes of Bethom, for the repara^{ci}on and mendyng, from tyme to tyme, of all such howses, barnes & chambers, as I have granted unto him by this my present wrytyng; And also suffycient Tynsell for thenclosyng and makyng of the Heggcs belongyng to the sayd demesne lands; And all accustomed ways &c. In witness &c.

¹ John Orrell of Turton was the son of Ralph Orrell, and married Elizabeth, daughter of Nicholas Butler of Rawcliffe. His name occurs in the list of those who were on service with the Earl in 1536, when he brought a contingent of 31 men. He died in 1581 (see *Visit. of Lanc.*, 1533, C. S., cx. 203). His will is given in *Lanc. and Ches. Wills*, C. S., New Series, 3, p. 85.

² *Gressum, gersum*, ready money or other valuable consideration paid in hand to bind or confirm any bargain, which we call *earnest*. Kennett, *Par. Antiq.*, Glossary.

18.

Edward Erle of Derby &c, To all men, to whom this my present wryting shall come, greting. Know ye, that I, the sayd Erle, have demysed and to ferm set to my welbeloved S^ovant, Tho^ms Skawnsfeld, a certain pasture called Ayscogh, in []¹ within the Co. of Yorke, parcel of myn inhānce now in the holdyng & occupa^on of Will^m Redman of Twysilton,² squyer, of the yerly rente of xxviii^s viii^d, TO HAVE &c, from and ymmediately after the day of the decesse of my ryght welbeloved Syster, Lady Margaret³ Countesse Sussexe, unto the end & term of xxx yers then next folowyng: He paying the yerly rente accustomed at the usual times; AND also to me for his fyn and gressum for the same, as betwixt me & the said Thomas is accorded & agreyd, —, with power of reentry if the Rent is unpaid for xl days after it is due. Geven under my Sygnet & Sygn Manuall, the — day of October, in the xxvith of the reign of o^r Soudaign Lord, King Henry the eight.

19.

HERAFTER ensuyth the Kings Graūt to my Lord, and the Graunt ouer to Thurstan Tildesley,⁴ squier, of Miresclough.

Hec Indentura facta inter excellentissimū principem et Dñm Dñm Henricū octauū Dei grā &c. ex una pte et Edwardum Comitem Derbei ex altā pte. testat^r q^d cum prefatus Dñs Rex per quandam

¹ The name is illegible.

² Twysilton, or Twiston, is on the borders of Yorkshire and Lancashire, five miles from Clitheroe.

³ See *ante* p. 34, note 1.

⁴ Thurstan Tildesley of Wardley was the eldest son of Thomas Tildesley, previously mentioned, No. 7. He was twice married; first to Percival, daughter of Geoffrey Shakerley of Shakerley, and secondly to Jane (see No. 20), daughter of Ralph Langton, Baron of Newton. From his will it would seem, that he was much engaged in the affairs of the Derby family. In this document, which was made I. Edward VI., he

aliam indentur⁹ suā Sigillo ducatus sui Lanc^r sigillat. gerent. dat. 15 Marcii A^o regno suo 17. p^r advisamentum et assensum Consilii sui Ducatus sui predict. concessissit tradisset et ad firmam demississit prefato Edwardo Com⁹ Derbei herbag⁹ & pannagiū P^rci de Myrescough cum logea ex^a eundē P^rcum scilt infra boscū ffor⁹ de Myrescogh cum residuo herbagii bosc⁹. ffor⁹ et le Cowpaster et Mosshey eidem P^rco adiaceñ. p^rcell Ducatus Land⁹. in Com. Land⁹. sufficient. pastura p^r ferio⁹ Dñi R. infra P^rcm p^rdcū et ceteris p^rmiss. omīs except. et Dño Regi reservata Hend. et tend. p^rfato Edwardo Com. Derb. et ass. suis usq⁹ ad finem xx aññ. incipiend. immediat⁹ et q^rcito ctis terīs anno^r. quem Henricus Kyghley Miles et Elizabeth¹ u^r ejus iam defunc⁹ tunc habuerunt de et in firma p^rccā ad term. 50 anno^r. REDD^o p^r aññ p^rcc^r Regi et hedbz p^r oibz p^rmiss. xx^{li} sterling. sicut p^rcc^r Henr. Kyghley Miles, de antiquam ffirmā p^r eisdem reddidit et sexaginta sex solid. et octo denar. ultra de ultiō me⁹ et xx denar. ultra de nouo metro p. aññ ad festa Pasche et S. Mich. Arch. Dat. London 7 Febr. 26 Hen. VIII.

20.

Edwardus Comes Derbei Dñs Stanley et Straunge omīb⁹ ad quos p^rs Sc^rptum p^rveñ. salm in dño semp^rno Cum excellentissimus

says: "Where I have byn a grait medeller of a long space, y^e is to saie by y^e space of xxxj yerres and more, under my lord and M^r, Edward Erle of Derby, my lord his father and my ladie his mother, and bene recever of y^r lands for y^e most parte of y^e same space" (*Wills and Invent.*, C. S., xxxiii. 103). In the same document there are several references to Mierscoghe, in one of which the testator says: "I will y^e Jane, nowe my wif, shall have duryng hir lif y^e lodge in Myerscoghe to dwell in duryng hir pleasure" (*ib.* 98).

¹ This Henry Kyghley of Inskip was the son of another Henry by his wife "Ciscelye, dowghter to Syr Thomas Butler of Bewse," and married "Elizabeth dowghter to S^r Alexander Osbalston" (*Visit. of Lanc.*, 1533, C. S., xcvi. 92). He was thus connected with Thurstan Tildesley (see preceding note), as Sir Alexander's second wife, the mother of the Elizabeth just mentioned, was "Ellyne, dowghter to Thomas Tyllsley of Wardley" (*ib.* 101). A younger brother, John, is the subject of a later letter (see No. 37). Inskip is not far from Mierscough.

Princeps Dñs Henricus Rex octauus p̄ tras suas patent. Sigillo Ducat. sui Lanc. dat. 6 Febr. 24. H. 8. concess. mihi p̄fato Comiti Officiū Magistri fforest. de Amoundernes et Blesedale ac eciam Custod. sue fforest. bosc. firme suor̄. de Myrescough p̄cell Ducat. sui Lanc. Necnon officium Custod. Parcī sui vocat. Mirescough in dēo cōm̄ p̄cell. Ducatus sui pd̄cī occupand. et exercend. officia illa et cetera p̄missa mihi p̄fato Comiti p̄ me vel p̄ Deputatū meū sufficientē pro termino vitæ mee p̄cipiend. &c.

Et eciam cū pd̄cūs excellentiss. Princeps Dñs Rex. Hen. 8. per Indenturā suā dat. 7 Febr. 26. H. 8. concesserit tradiderit & ad firmam dimiserit mihi herbagium & pannagium Parcī de Myrescough cū logea ex^a eundū p̄cum scil. infra boscū fforest. de Myrescough &c. ad term̄. quinquaginta annor⁹ &c.

Et insuper cum Ego p̄fat. Comes seis. et possesonat. existo de et in quibusdam terris et ten. et pastur. in Magna Sawreby et parva Sawreby in com⁹ pd̄ct. nuper in occupaōe et tenura Thurstoni Tyldesley armig⁹ et antea in occupa⁹ et ten. Henrici Kyghley miles defunct. SCIATIS me p̄fat. Edw. Comit. pro et in considerat. boni et fidelis servicii p̄ p̄fatū Thurstanū Tyldesley Armig⁹. dilectum et fidelem servientem meū mihi et antecessoribz meis ante hec temp̄o inpen̄s. Ac eciam pro et in consideraōe magnor⁹. oñum repaōem et edific. ad suā centum marcar⁹ attingent. de et super quandam nouam tegam sive domicilū vocat. LE LODGE in Myrescough pd̄cūs per p̄fatū Thurstanum ad custag⁹ et expensis sua p̄pa locata hīta et impensis DEPUTASSE pro me per presentis p̄fato Thurstano Tyldesley Arm⁹ et assign⁹. suis ad habendū occupandū et exercend. predictum OFFICIUM MAGISTRI fforestarii de Amoundernes et Blesedale ac p̄d̄ct. custod. sue fforeste bos⁹ firme (?) de Myresclough p̄cell. Ducat. sui Lanc. Necnon d̄ctū officiū custod. p̄c vocat. Myrescough p̄ke in dēo Com. cū oibz p̄tnz proficii cōmoditatibz et advantagiis quibuscq; spect. pro termino vitæ mei p̄fati Comitis.

Sciatis insuper me p̄fatum Comitem dedisse et concessisse et hoc p̄senti Scripto meo p̄fato Thurstano Tyldesley totum terminum jus titulum interesse et demandū meū que ego in p̄dct. herbag⁹ et pannag⁹ P̄ci p̄dci de Myrescough p̄dct ac de et in p̄dct Logea extra eundem Parcū s̄cilt infra bosc. fforest. de Myerscough cū residuo herbag. bosc. firm⁹ et le Cowpastur et Mossehey eidem Parc. adjaceñ. racōe concessionis et dimissionis p̄dct mihi ut pres. fact.

Sciatis me p̄fat. Edw. Comitem dedisse concess. dimiss. &c. p̄fato Thurstano Tyldesley oīa et singula p̄dct. terr. tenem⁹. et pasturas cū suis p̄tnj situat. jac. et exist. in Magna et Parva Sawreby p̄dct usque ad term. quinquaginta annor. REDD^o mihi et herd. mihi annuat. £3 7s. 0d. et REDD^o Dño Regi et hered. pro p̄dcis herbag. et pannag. p̄dci Parci de Myrescough pro p̄dca Logea &c. &c. £3 8s. 4d. durante p̄dco term. 50 añ. ac eciam dur. term. in p̄dct. terr. ten. et pasturis in Magna Sawreby et P̄va S. Solvet annuat. Thome Shirburne ¹ Arm⁹ Nichō Butler ² Arm⁹. et heredbz Johi Butler ³ Arm⁹. ac oīibz et singlis aliis p̄son. et hered. suis et eorū cuilibet oīes annales reddes siue annuitates quos ip̄i p̄fatus Thom. Sherburne Nich. Butler et hered. John Butler aut eorum aliquis ac alii quecunque persone aut alia persona quecunque heřites aut heřis aliqua terras seu tēñ in Magna vel Parva S. p̄dct. ante hac ibñ hueřnt siue heře debuerunt Proviso p̄dct. Thurstañ non assignabit nec concedet statū t̄tulum jus sive interesse sua in aliquo effect. p̄dco⁹ absque Licencia et consensu mei p̄fat. Com⁹. solumo. JOHANNE nunc Uxor⁹ p̄dct. Thurstani vel alicui filior⁹ aut lib⁹or⁹ ejusdem Thurstani. In cujus &c. Dat. 10 Febr. 26 Henr⁹. VIII.

¹ See p. 117, note 2.

² Nicholas Butler of Rawcliffe.

³ John Butler of Kirkland (?). For his will see *Lanc. and Ches. Wills*, C. S., New Series, 3, p. 204.

21.

*The office of
Keping of
ye Pike of
Arneshed.*

Edward Erle of Derby &c, To all men &c. Know ye me, the af^d Erle, to have granted, demysed and to ferm set, & by my present wryting have &c, to my right welbeloved servant, Thomas Bradley,¹ and his Assigns The herbage and pannage of my Parke of Arneshed ; and also all the demayne lands, gardens, orchards, medows, lesows, pastures, with all their app^{ts}, in Arneshed ; And also the ffyshing of Kents-sands, with the Motur Barley payd by the tenants of fflokeboro and Alethwayte, tog^r with all the fermes which were in the holding of John Raynscrofte, late Keper there, TO HAVE &c. for his life naturall ; Yielding & paying the Rent accustomed, And also paying to me, the said Erle, for the gressum and fyn, such sūm of money as betwyxt me and the said Thoñs ys condissended and agreed—Cū clā warranto &c. In witnes &c Dat. iiii Nov^r., 27 H. 8.

22.

To Xpofer Peyton and John Armetryding.²

Welbeloved, I grete you well. And wher I am informed, that my Lady my Mothers howses and myn in Brackley³ be in decaye for want of Tymber, Wherfor I will and desir you to appoynt suche convenyent Tymber in my wodds in Brackley, or in other wodds nere those parties, as ye shall thynk convenyent & necessary for the repaying of the same. Alwais provided, that the tenants of the sayd howses do their dwties, as they

¹ Thomas Bradley of Bradley, near Chipping, married Grace, daughter of Hugh Sherborne of Stonyhurst (*Visit. of Lanc.*, 1567, C. S., lxxxi. 38). His son and heir, John, is among the guests at Lathom in 1587 (*Stan. Pap.*, C. S., xxxi. 121).

² See *ante*, No. 11.

³ The manor of Brackley had been granted to the Earl's grandfather, George, Lord Strange, by Henry VII., soon after the battle of Bosworth.

ought to do, and have byn accustomed, soo that I be put to no gretter charges, but as reason requyrith. And thus fare ye well. ffrom my Manor of Lathom &c. (*circ.* xxx Hen. 8.)

23.

And that divers complayntes are put against my Lords officers and teñnts of Ellesmere befor the Kings Counsaill in the M⁹ches of Wales; Whereupon they complayned theym to my Lord who directed his l^{res} to the said Counsell as foloth.¹

24.

A Lease made to John ap Edward ap y davy of ii parcels of ground called gvydiam and lloed ho^{ll} for term of xii yers, the rent x^s viii^d, wth a p^{vis}o to build a howse and to repayer the same and to leave it tenant hable, & shall doe no waste, upon forfeiture of his Lease & the double rent, byryng date 4 Jan., 27 H. 8.

25.

A Lease made to John ap Ithell, of the Rigge, of a tenement, late in the holding of David ap Mad ap Jeñn Vāght, in the town of Rygge, of the yerly rent of viii^s, for term of xxi yers, upon a p^{vis}o to make no waste, nor sale nor transfer, wthout assent of my Lord & his Survayo^s of his lands. Dat. apud Lathom p^o die Januarij A^o xxix R. R. Hen. VIII.

26.

A Lease made to Thomas Kynnaston of a Pastur called Nootall, in Ellesmere, wth this p^{vis}o, to make no wast, nor alienate wthout Licence or knoledge, to do all svtes & s^{vi}ces, as other tē^{ts} do, and to be redy to do the Kyng S⁹vice, & reiteign to no maⁿ p^{son}. Dated vi Jan^y, xxix. H. 8.

¹ The letters do not follow in the *MS.* ; perhaps No. 58 may be referred to.

27.

A Graunt made to Edward ap David ap Gruff ap Jenkin of a ten^t in the occupa^on of David ap Robert, of New Merteyn, wthin the Lordshipp of Ellesmere durying pleaser. Dat. 14 June, xxx. Hen. 8.

28.

A Graunt made to Tho. Whyt of certeyn lande & pastur, ꝑcell of the Byrches, in Ellesmere, of the yerly rent of xl^s id, for term of xxi yers, wth such ꝑvso as above runs. Dat. xvi June, xxx. Hen. 8.

29.

A Graunt made to William Griffith of a tenement, late in the holding and occupa^on of John Goghe, of the yerely rent of xvii^s iiid, to be made in man^r & forme forsaied.

L^{re} miss. anno xxx R. R. Hen. VIII.

30.

To the Parson of Thorneton¹ and his Deputy.

In my full herty maner &c. And wheras my Auncestors and I, tyme ovt of mynd, have had a Chapell Donatyve wthin your ꝑishe of Thornton, and never interrupted of the same, ne of no maⁿer duty belongyng to the same, vnto [*until*] your pre-

¹ Thorneton, in Buckinghamshire. The rector of Thornton is given in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* as Robert Heywood. Sir Andrew Windsor, mentioned a little later in the letter, was a Buckinghamshire man. In a list of books (of subsidy) for divers counties, with the names of the persons by whom they were brought in, the name for Buckinghamshire is Sir Andrewe Wyndsour (L. & P., an. 1534, p. 557; see also Index to that volume). He was made Knight of the Bath, 1500, a Banneret at the battle of the Spurs, 1513, summoned to Parliament as Baron Windsor, 1529, was Keeper of the Great Wardrobe, 1544, and died 1545.

decessor, more of his froward and covetous mynd then of any ryght or iuste tytle, trobled my Preist, which I did admyt vnto the same, And in the xchuyng of forther Sutes and charges, I send unto you an Abstract of an Inquisiōn, taken before Sir Andrew Wyndesor, Knyght, and other Cõmissioners, wherby my ryght may appere vnto you in the same, which is a vere true Copy therof; Desiring you, as I may do you pleasur, that the said Priest may haue and inioy the same, according as others yet hitherto have don in my Auncestors tyme, wth all rightes, profits and cõmodityes belonging to the same, in as ample maner & forme as hertofoꝛ hath been vsed and accustomed, wthout interrupōn of you or your Deputy. And so doing ye shall have me redy to do you pleas^r, and, otherwise doing, I must and will defend my right. At Lathom, the xiiii day of June.

Lre misse anno xxiiii^o Regni Regis Henr VIII.

31.

Trusty and welbiloved, I grete you well, And will, that ye suffre Robarte Waynwright to make Surrender to George Plumpton of a tenement, wthin the town of Prescot,¹ accordyng to the vse and custom ther, if he maye lawfully soo do; And if ye thinke any dowl therin, then to impanell xii of the moost honest inhabitants of the said town for the triall of the right therein; And to have your resonable fauo^r therin. And thus fare ye well. Writon at my Mano^r of Colham, the xv day of September.

32.

Welbeloved, I grete you well, And woll and cõmande you, that ye in all convenyent hast after the sight herof do content and paye vnto my Receuo^r, or his Deputie, all suche sõmes of money

¹ Prescot is close to Knowsley.

as ye at this tyme do oghe vnto me; And furthermore, that ye be at Lathom for the makyng and determynacōn of your accompts, the—day—next cūmyng, befor my Auditor's, whiche, god willyng, shall then be there; And that ye before your departyng thens do paye to my said Receivo^r generall, or to his Deputye, all such sōmes of money as then shalbe founde by my saide Auditor's due wthin your Office and Bayliwike; And that ye faile not herof, all excuses and delays set apart, as ye intende to des̄ve my thanks, and will advoyde my displea^r. And thus fare ye well. At my Manor of Colhm, the xxviith day of Aprill, in the xxvth yere of the Reign of o^r Souveraign Lord, Kinge Henry the eight.

33.

To my welbeloved John Lee¹ and to Thomas Lee of Ellesmere and aither of theym.

Welbeloved, I grete you well; Certifyng you, that for diverse consideraōns me mouing my mynd and pleasur is, that myn Audyt shalbe at Ellesmere² this present yere soner, then it hathe byn of late yeres accustomed. And therefore I haue appoynted my Receivo^r generall and Auditor's to be there the xiii day of June next cūmyng, and to contynue ther, till the said Audyt be determyned. Wherfor I will and desire you and also cōmand you, that you be ther, and geue your attendance vpon theym duryng the same tyme; And that ye levy and cause to be levyed wthout delaye, all excuses layd apart, all suche sommes of money and duties, as shalbe then due to me wthin yo^r Office & receyt, so as the same maye be payd to my said Generall Receiv^r or his Deputye befor his departyng thens. And I will, that ye

¹ John Lee, one of the Earl's bailiffs (see No. 34).

² Ellesmere and the other Shropshire property mentioned in this letter came to the Stanleys by the marriage of George, grandfather of the third Earl, with the daughter and heir of Lord Strange of Knockin (see Kennett, ii. 383). Ellesmere had been granted in 1331 by Edward III. to Eubulo le Strange (*ib.*, ii. 19).

geve like knolage to my Bailiffs and rentgetherers of Knokyn town, and the Cuntre of Knokyn, Donaston and Kynnaston ; And to my Lady my Mothers teñnts and bayliffs of Nesse, Hampton, Culmer, Straunge and Mudle, whose mynd and pleas^r ys, accordyng as myn ys aforehersyd. And I will, that ye shew e^{ly} of theym these my l^{res}, soo that they shall haue no cause to allege ignorancy of my said Lades pleasur and myn in this behalf. And thus fare ye well.

34.

To my trusty and welbeloved Sr John Holford,¹ Knyght,
Steward of Ellesmere.

Trusty and welbeloved, I grete you well ; Certyfyng you I have appoynted my Audyt to begyn at Ellesmere this yere the xiii daye of June next cūmyng ; And thereof haue geven warnyng to John Lee and all other my Bailiffs in those parties. And therfor I will and desire you to kepe all suche Courts ther in the meane season, as be necessary to be kept, so that non of my saide Bailiffs, Officers, teñnts, or other, that myn Auditor's shall fynd in det to me, haue no cause resonable to delaye me of my dutye. And thus fare ye well. At my Manor of Colh^{am}, the — day of — &c.

35.

To John ap Edward and to all other my Bailiffs and
Rentgetherers of Malasaseneke² be this dd.

Welbeloved, I grete you well ; Certifying you, that for diuerse

¹ Sir John Holford of Holford, in the county of Chester. The Holfords and Kyghleys were connected. Sir John's son, Thomas, was married to Margaret Butler (*Visit. of Lanc.*, 1533, C. S., xcvi. p. 96), who was a cousin of the Henry Kyghley mentioned in No. 19 (*Visit. of Lanc.*, 1567, C. S., lxxi. 106).

² The deed which contains the grant to Eubulo le Strange of the manor of Ellesmere contains also the grant of the manor of Overton "cum terra de Maillarseisnek"

cōsideraçõns me mouing my mynd and pleas^{ur} is, that my Audyt shalbe at Ellesmere and in these partyes soner, then it hathe of late yeres byn accustomyd; And therfor haue appoynted my generall Receuo^r and my Audyto^rs to be ther the xiii day of June next cūmyng, And to contynue ther, tyll the Audyt be determyned. Wherefore I will and desire you, and also straitly charge and cõmand you, that ye be wth my said Receuo^r and Audito^rs at Ellesmere the xiiii or xv daye of the said June, to make yo^r accompt & payment of all suche sõmes of money, as then shalbe owinge to me by you, or due to me wthin your Office; And that ye faile not herof, all feaned excuses laid apart, as ye intend to haue me to be yo^r good Lord, and will advoyde my displeasur, as well towching the forfeitures of your obligaçõns as otherwise. ffor I will ye knowe, I do consider ye haue not in tymes past don yo^r dutyes to me, and truly and diligentl^ye ſved me, and made payments of that, that ye ought to haue don, whiche ys comen to your hands; and more myght haue comon to yo^r handes, if ye had don yo^r diligence, accordyng as good offycers ought to haue don. Wherin percase ye shall fynd me more easy wth you, then ye haue desūed, yf so be, that ye now at this tyme doe amende, and accomplyshe this my forsayd mynd and cõmandement. And yf ye faile therof, then at your iopdy. And thus fare ye well. At my Mano^r of Colh^{am}, the xxviith day of Aprill in the xxvth yere of the Reign of o^r Soueraign Lord, King Henry the Eight.

(Kennett, ii. 19). "Maelor Saesneg is a hundred of Flintshire, comprising the parishes of Worthenbury, Bangor, Hanmer, Erbistock, and Hope, and the chapelry of Overton and some others insulated in Denbyshire, and seems to have taken its name from being the jointure of Emma, an Englishwoman, widow of Gryffydd ap Madoc, and was declared to constitute part of Flintshire by Edward I." Gough's *Camden*, ii. 597.

36.

To my welbeloved S^r Roger Puleston,¹ Knyght.

Welbeloved, I comēde me to you. And wher it is soe, that ye have occupied wthout Warrant or Patent made to you by me or by my Comissioners the Office of Stewardship of my Landes in Malasaseneke, and yerely reteyned in your handes iiii markes, for the fee thereof, of suche Rents and Reuenues, as ye ought to have paid me for suche landes, as ye hold of myn; in which Offyce, for any thinge that I can parceyue, ye have don me vere small pleas^e, or non at all, nother in ayding the Rentgatherers and Bailiffs to levye my Dutyes and right ther, nor otherwise, but rather by yo^r procurement I have susteyned losse, hynderance and delays for my dutyes, by the Bailiffs who you procured to be in Office, allegyng honesty and gravitye in theym, And for whom ye stand Bounde by your obligacōn, which is forfayted. Wherfor I desire you to comyn [*commune*] wth the saides Bailiffs, and amongst you so p^rvide, that that, whiche is my right to be had ther, may be paid to my Receivo^r Generall at my Audyt at Ellesmere the xiiii or xv daie of June next. In whiche doing percase ye shall fynd me better to you in all the premisses, then ye have yet hytherto gevyne me cawse. And if ye faile herof, I geve you warnynge, that it is my pleasur, that ye no further medle as Stward ther, except ye shall have forther knolege from me in wrytyng, or by my said Receyuo^r and Audyto^rs at Ellesmere at the tyme aforsaid. And forther, that ye stand to your ioperdy, as well of and for the forfeiture of your obligacōn, as also for retayning in yo^r handes wthout Warrant the saides iiii markes yerely, that ye call your fee, as yet undes^ved. And thus fare ye well. At my Mano^r of, &c.

¹ Sir Roger Puleston, of Emral, Co. Flint. His mother was Janet, daughter of Thomas Bulkley, a son of Sir William Bulkley by his wife Margaret, daughter of Sir Richard Molyneux of Sefton and his wife Elizabeth, Sister of Thomas first Earl of Derby. Sir Roger was thus a distant kinsman of the correspondent who was so ill pleased with his proceedings. He died 36 Hen. VIII.

To the wiff of Thom^{as} Norres.¹

Welbeloved, I grete you well. And wher it is soo, that Thomas Norres, yo^r late husbände and my trusty officer in those parties, is departed from this present lyff, whose soule godd pardon, by reason wherof ye be now at lybertye eftsoones to mary agayn ; Wherein, forasmoche as ye be my Wido, I dowt not but accordynge to your dutye ye will take myn advyse ; And for so moche as John Kyghley,² one of my Soldio^rs of the Pele³ in Man, is right desirous to mary wth you, for the good Love and favo^r that he berith to you ; vnto whom I do not only bere good will & favo^r, for the ſvice whiche he hathe don and intendeth to do to me, but I am moche the better Lord vnto hym, for the ſvices that his Auncestors and the stoke, that he is comon of, hathe don to me and my Auncestors : Wherefore in my hertywise I desire you to be contented to accept and take the said John to your Husbände ; in which doing ye shall not only deſve my thanks, but also for yo^r soo doying I will ye knowe, that ye and he together shalhaue and hold the tenement late in the tenure of your said husband, doinge to me your dutye therfor accustomed ; Whiche said tenemente ys now in my disposciōn to order and dispose at my pleas^r. And in the accomplishment of this my said pleas^r I will, that this my wrytinge shalbee a suffycient Warrant vnto my Lieuteñnt and other my Offycers in those partyes for the admytting of him and you teñnts to the same tenement. And thus fare ye well.

¹ See No. 5.

² See No. 19.

³ "Peel or Pele, anciently called Holm-town, hath a Fort erected in a small Isle, and defended with a strong Garrison, which secures the Harbour. The Castle has a Platform round it, well secured with Cannon. . . . Within this Circuit is the Lord's House."—*House of Stanley*, p. 219.

38.

MEMORANDŪ that wher yt hath pleased my Lord of his bountefull goodness to dyrect his L̄res to the late wyffe of Thomas Norres, one of the Dymsters of Man, decessed, exortyng her to mary me, John Kyghley, for whiche doinge my saide Lord hath promysed, that she and I together shalbee his Lordships teñnts of the teneñt, that was lately in the tenure of her saide husbonde, ffor whiche tenemente his Lordshipp myght haue a large ffyn : Wherfor I, the sayd John, am agreed and grant, if I mary the said wyff of the said Thom^{as}, and that I haue and hold the said tenement, that then I shall after myn habylytie and substance pay vnto my said Lord, for the fyn or gressum of the same tenement, suche a some of money, and at suche days, as by his Lordshipp and his Counsaill shalbe lymyted and appoynted. In witnesse wherof to this Remembraunce the said John, &c.

39.

To

Right trusty and welbeloved, I grete you well. And wheras my teñnt, Richard ffyshe, hathe sundry tymes complayned hym to my S^ovante, Bartolmew Hesketh,¹ and others, my Offycers, of many and diverse iniuries and vexaçoens don to hym by on Richard Crosse and John Crosse, his sonne, your S^ovantes and Charterers, not only to my disinherytance, but also to the undoing of my saide S^ovante, not sufferyng him to occupye my said teñt accordyng to my grant and pleasur ; And no redresse herin as yet had, to my no lytle marvaille ; I will and desire you to geve straitly comāndmente to the said Richard Crosse and John Crosse, to permyt and suffer the said Richard ffyshe peaceablye to occupy and enjoye the saide tenement, wthoute their

¹ See p. 71.

further vexa^{co}n. And yf ther be anie juste cause of vvariance betwixt theym, wherof I am not assertayned, to let the same to lie in suspense vnto my repair into the Cuntrie; And then ther shalbe suche order and ende made therin, as shall stand wth right and good concyens, And wherwthall they shall haue cause to hold theym contente. And yf they, or any of theym, attempt from thensforthe any thing contrary to this my desire and pleasur, I shall provide suche spedefull remedy herin, that shalbe to theire grete payn, and ouer hevy for theym to bere, or any that shall maynteyne theym in their wrongfull doyngs, and the vtter losse of my favo^r for ever. And thus, &c.

40.

To S^r Thomas Sothworth,¹ Knyght.

Trusty and welbeloved, I comend me to you. And wheras on Criste Gylybronde, wido, teñnt vnto the Abbot of Whalley, of whose landes I am Steward, hath complayned her vnto me, how that diverse persons, your ðvants and teñnts, by your comāde-ment haue interrupted her to take and gether the tethe of certeyn cornes in Melo^r, wthin the pishe of Blackeborn, wherof she hath iuste tytle by reason of a Lesse therof, made by the Abbot of Whalley now being, for terme of iii yerres yet to cū; And for her remedy in this behalfe she hath obteyned Privie Sealles aganst you and other the wronge doers to make ansvarr to the peremisses before the Kings Counsaill of the Duchie: And forasmoch as I wold be glad to advoyde suche extremyties and suits in the Law, and for that I am Steward, as is aforesaid, and

¹ Sir Thomas Sothworth of Samlesbury. He married "Margery, dowghter of Thomas Butler of Bewse" (*Visit. of Lanc.*, 1533, C. S., xcvi. 73), so was connected with two persons already mentioned in the Correspondence, Henry Kyghley and Sir John Holford. His contingent on the Salley expedition numbered 209 men (L. & P., 1251).

desirous also to haue reforma^{ti}on in such cases by lovyng meanes, I hertly require you, that the sayd pouer woman may haue reasonable recompence for her damage hertofo^r susteyned by yo^r occasion; And that ye, and suche as haue wronged her, will from hensforth cesse for wrongyng her any forther in the premisses. And thus fare ye well, &c.

41.

A Lre to Sr Willm Molyneux,¹ Knyght.

Cosyn Molyneux, I comend me to you. And wher I am credably informed, that Moses Rigby and Thom^{as} Dykonson, yo^r S⁹vaunts, haue byn lately at dyuerse and sundrie tymes in the nyghte tymes wthin my Parke at Lathom, and ther hunted my Dere at ther pleasur, to my no lytle displeasur and discontenta^{ti}on; Wherfor I desyre you, at such tyme as my Councill doth resorte to Lathom, vpon knolage geuen to you, to see the saides persons furthcūmyng to make answare herunto; to the intent that, yf it be soo proued, they may be condignly punyshed accordyng to theire demeryts and accordyng to the Kings Lawes, to the ensample of suche other lyke offenders. And thus, &c.

42.

A lre to ——— concerning the same mater.

Welbeloued, I grete you well. And wher I am informed, that ye, and others of your confederacy by your procurement, haue hunted and distroyed my Dere in Lathom Parke, aswell in the

¹ Sir William Molyneux of Sefton. His grandmother was a sister of Thomas, first Earl of Derby, which will account for the term "cosyn" with which he is addressed (*Visit. of Lanc.*, 1567, C. S., lxxxi. 104). He distinguished himself at Flodden, where he "wan the Erle of Huntley's armes" (*ib.*), and attended the Earl on the Salley expedition with a force estimated at 400 men (L. & P., 1251).

nyght as other tymes; And also that ye have manaced and thretened my S^ovante, Robart Coney, for that he dyd fynd fauts and mysdemenors wth you; I will ye know, that I am not content wth you, if it may be thus proved. Wherfor, if ye intend to haue me to be good Lord to you, that ye, opon knolage yeven to you by my Counsaill, resort vnto theym at Lathom for the forther proffe herin, To thentent that suche order may be taken therin, as shall accorde to your demeryts. And thus, &c.

43.

A lre to a Prior¹ for Parson ffouler.

ffather Prior, I comēde me to you in my herty mañer. And wher I vnderstand ther is contraversy and an accōn depending before and betwixt you and a ffrynde of myn, on Parson ffouler, for a yerely pencōn² clamed by you owt of his Church of Apulby,³ in the Com. of Leicester, I desire you to be content to stay and rest the same betwixt you vnto the ende of the next terme; To the intent y^t in the meanetyme, if ye be soo pleased, that I, or suche of my Cōsaill as ye shall holde you content wth, maye haue the hering of the mater, for a fynale ende to be made therin accordyng to Justice, wth love and favor, w^{thout} any extremyte of the Law; And that ye wold appoynt suche on, as

¹ This was Radulphus Blaxton, prior of Lytham (see *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, v. 305). On the same authority we learn, that the pension due from the church at Appleby was xiijs. iiijd. per annum (see also iv., 181). In the latter entry the rector of Appleby is given as Cristofer Fowler. The domains of Lytham after the dissolution came into the possession of Sir Thomas Holcroft, whose name has already occurred in the Correspondence (see p. 9, note 3).

² See preceding note.

³ Appleby is a small village south of Ashby-de-la-Zouche, and not far from the latter place. The grammar school, founded and endowed by Sir John Moore, Lord Mayor of London, was built by Sir Christopher Wren; but perhaps the most interesting circumstance connected with it is the supposed candidature of Dr. Johnson for its head-mastership.

shall instruct me and my said Cōsaill of your interest and tytyle theryn: and of yo^r mynd and towardnes herin I desire you asserteyn me by yo^r wrytyng, as sone as ye convenyontly may; And forther, that ye wold wryte to yo^r Attorney to rest and contynue the said Sute for the tyme aforsaid. And thus, &c.

44

A Lre to Willm Radclyff,¹ Squyer.

Trusty and Welbeloved, I grete you well. And wheras I am informed, that on John Burghe and Richard Burghe and others haue sundrye tymes hunted wthin the fforest of Macclesfild,² and dayly doe misuse theymselves anendes the Kings Game ther, and also made asaut vpon my S^ovante, w^{ch} browght the Kinges lres to attache theym, Whiche said John and Richard be wthin yo^r rule vnder me, as ye ryght parfactly know: And ye seying and perceyving ther unlawfull demennure, aswell anendes the said fforest, as anends my said S^ovants, and nothing providing nor helping to see the said Offenders punyshed, but suffryng theym to go at large, to my no lytle marvaill; Wherfor I will and comānde you, that from hensforth ye indevo^r yourself, not only to se the said Offenders taken, and they to put suffycient suertye to be of good abering to the said fforest & game and to the Kepers there, but also as sone as ye knowe any mysruled persons wthin your said Office, to put theym vnder lyke Surtye, as ye intende to haue my favo^r, or to occupie as my Deputye ther. And thus fare ye well, &c.

¹ William Radclyff, eldest son of Sir Alexander Radcliffe of Ordshall. He married a daughter of Edmund Trafford (*Visit. of Lanc.*, 1533, C. S., xcvi. 64), and his name is found in the Earl's Salley book, immediately succeeding that of Trafford, with the number 114 appended.

² "In 1461 Thomas, Lord Stanley, was made master-forester of Macclesfield, the office being granted to him and his heirs."—Lyson's *Cheshire*. p. 405, note.

A Lre to Andrew Barton,¹ squyer.

Trusty and welbeloved, I grete you well. And wher I perceyue by the Copy of the Kings lres, which ye sent me, that his Grace will, that I shall ppare hym fyfty able persons, horsemen, for the Warre, after the maner of that Cuntre, to do ſvice of warr against the Skotts, vnder the conducōn of the Lord Dacres;² In the accomplishe^t of whiche Lres, I vnderstand, ye haue taken sum payn and diligence, wherof I thanke you;

¹ Andrew Barton of Smethells. He married a daughter of Sir William Stanley of Hooton (*Visit. of Lanc.*, 1567, C. S., lxxi. 21), and is seen to have been connected with some of those whose names have already occurred in the Correspondence. Thurstan Tildesley and he speak of one another as "cousin" in their respective wills (*Wills and Invent.*, i. 100; ii. 98), and he must have had some dealings with Sir Henry Harrington, as £40 is owing to the latter at Barton's death. Sir Henry and he were members for Lancashire in 1529 (see Introduction, p. iv.). He also was a member of the Salley expedition, bringing a force of 172 men. What kind of contribution was expected on a general levy from Barton may be seen from that required in 1574 from his son (*Lanc. Lieut.*, C. S., xlix. 53).

² Lord William Dacre of Gillesland, Warden of the West Marches. Early in the year 1533 Lord Dacre was preparing to act against the Scots. On Feb. 3 he received notice that £500 would be paid him by the King's Treasurer, Sir George Lawson, and this he was desired to use to the utmost annoyance of the King's enemies (*L. & P.*, 117). The aid given was not sufficient, and on March 1 Dacre wrote to Cromwell, that "without further provision these Borders are like to go to ruin," at the same time saying, that no "great actes, excurses and annoyances" had been done against the enemy in the West, as the weather had been bad, and the enemy had gathered a stronger force than his own. A few places, however, including Ecclefechan, had been burnt, and some cattle had been brought into England (*ib.*, 199). In July again there were further raids on either side. Writing to Henry on July 2, Lord Dacre tells him, how the Scots of West Tevidale invaded Bewcastledale, took seven score head of cattle, and burnt six houses (*ib.*, 750); and in a letter of July 20, after defending himself against a charge of negligence in respect to this affair, he reports that he had caused his servant, Thomas Dacre, to invade West Tevidale and make reprisals (*ib.*, 876). On this latter date Sir William Kyngston, writing to Lord Lisle, says: "We are like to have war with Scotland, for I hear they are wilful and keep promise like Scots; but, God willing, the King will provide for them" (*ib.*, 879). How the King intended to provide for them the letter above gives an instance. A letter from the Earl to Lord Dacre will be found later on, No. 56.

Wylling and desiring you to see the tenor of the said Lres accomplyshed accordyng to the Kings pleasure. And wher as ye haue willed, that serche shulde be made for my Lady Pykeryngs Patent of Ingleton, my Recevor by my comānd hathe made Serche amongst my Evidences here, and cannot fynd it ; wherfore it is thought it shuld be at Lathom. Therfor I haue wryton to Bartilmew Hesketh and others, to make serche for the same amongst my wrytyngs ther ; And if it can be founde, that I be ioynt patent wth my Lord my father, then they to delyuer the same to you, to thintent ye may advertise my said Lady Pykering therof, And now and hereafter to vse and exercise the said office of Steward as my Deputy, as ye shall thinke necessary at this tyme and all other. And thus fare ye well, &c.

46.

A Lre to Bartylmew Hesketh¹ & Robart Swansey.

Trusty and welbeloved, I grete you well. And woll and desire you, that ye at your conveyent leasure resort to Lathom, and ther amongst my Evidences make serche for a Patent of the Stewardship of Ingleton, granted to my Lady Pickering, to my Lord my father & me, whose soule god pardon, and as I am informed. Wherfor if ye perceyve it soo be, then I will ye delyver the same to my S^yvant, Andrew Barton, to thintent that he may advertyse my said Lady Pykering therof, who dothe afferme, that she doth not remember, that I shuld be ioynt patent wth my said Lord my father, and if I be, she is contented, that I shall enioye the same accordyngly. And thus fare ye well, &c.

¹ See *ante*, p. 71, note.

A Lre to the Erle of Northumberland.¹

My vere good Lord, in my moost hertyst maner I recoñende me to your good Lordship. And wher I perceyve by your lres lately directed to the Abbot of ffurnes,² that ye do not only allege, that ye yet be, lyke as ye afferme that your Auncestors haue hertofoe byn, Stwards of the Landes of the said Abbots in Borodale³ belongyng to the Monastery of ffurnes, but also ye desir hym to paye to yo^r Deputy and S⁹ vant, Thomas Wharton,⁴

¹ Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, was Warden of the East and Middle Marches. On Jan. 1, 1533, order was given to make a commission under the Great Seal for him to levy as many of the King's subjects as he should think proper for defence or annoyance of the Scots during the King's pleasure (L. & P., 8), but there seems not to have been at once a satisfactory activity against the King's enemies. On Feb. 1 Sir George Lawson writes to Cromwell, that during his stay at York he has written several times to my Lord of Northumberland, that the garrisons should be doing something, and that on his arrival on the Borders he will urge my Lord and the Council to do some notable act at the full of the moon next week (*ib.*, 107). Two days later, on arriving at Northumberland's quarters at Warkworth, he found that the Lord Warden's retinue, with other forces, was engaged in a raid at Teviotdale (*ib.*, 124). In the case of Northumberland, as in that of Lord Dacre, there seems to have been some dissatisfaction with the guard kept on the Borders, for the Council of the North wrote to him on Feb. 13 saying, that "the fells and fords have been very ill watched hitherto" (*ib.*, 155). As will be seen from the Earl of Derby's letter, Northumberland did not always succeed in giving satisfaction, when he endeavoured to raise the forces that were to enable him to prevent the incursions of the Scots.

² See *ante*, p. 61, note 2, and *post*, No. 61.

³ Borrowdale was given to Furness by Lady Alice de Rumeley in 1209 or 1210. The deed of gift, in which the limits of the estate thus acquired by the Abbey are given, will be found *Annal. Furn.*, p. 174. At the time of the dissolution its rental amounted to £28 10s. (*ib.*, p. 336).

⁴ Sir Thomas Wharton was comptroller with the Earl of Northumberland, and in this year was reported by Sir George Lawson, in a letter to Cromwell, as doing the King great service with his wise counsel and experience (L. & P., 16). He took an active part in annoying the King's enemies, as may be seen from the accounts sent to Henry of an attack made on the Lord of Buclough, and by both Northumberland and Lawson was recommended to the King's favour (*ib.*, 124-5). Later in the same year he was one of the English Commissioners on the Borders, who were engaged in the negotiations with Scotland, which ended in the acceptance on Oct. 1 of a truce for one year between the two countries (*ib.*, 1196).

knyght, your fee accustomed, whiche ye allege to be due and unpaid, for the exercising of the office of Stewardship forsaide. And over that ye desire and exort him, that, upon warninge gyffyn, that his tenants ther between the ages of sixty and sixteen shall attende and wayt on suche, as ye have appoynted, to go under your gyton [*a small standard*] from your Castell of Cokermouthe for the Kings Highnes affairs and service in the Est Marches. My good Lord, true it is, that I am Steward for terme of my life of all the Lands belongyng to the said Monastery within the Realme of England, as shall more at large appeare by a Patent to me therof, made under the Counte Seale of the same Monastery. And now lately the Kings Highnes, knowyng me to be Steward as is aforesayd, hath dyrected his honorable lres vnto me by the name of Highe Steward of ffurness, wylling me to prepare and put in aredynes a certeyn number of Horse men for the Warr for the defense of the Skotts in the West Marches; and for the furnyshyng of part of that number aforesaid my Deputy shall appoynt summe of the sayd Abbots tenants in Borodale aforesaide, to geue their attendance accordyng to the Kyngs said pleasur, And the Resydue shall have in comāde, to be in aredynes to do the King service under the ledyng of me or my Deputy, when the Kyngs Grace shall comāde. Wherefor, ye beinge thus aduertised, my trust is, that your good Lordship will no further medle within my office, to the abrigement or mynyshyng of any part therof. And thus I hertly desire you to be soo contented, lyke as ye wold thynke I shuld be in semblable case, if I shuld intromedle me in any your offices or Stewardships; onles ye can show any former or better graunt then myn under the Count Seale, which I thinke ye cannot do. And as towching the fee ye claym, I have wryton to the said Abbot exortyng hym, if he other promysed you any suche, or that he and hys Monastery be bonden by any grante or otherwise, to make payment accordyngly. And if in case the Abbot

and his Cōvent be at ther lybtie in that behalf, Then I desire you to be good Lord to the said Abbot, and hold you content with hym herin of that whiche shall procede of his good will, and not otherwise. And I praye to God to sende your good Lordshiþ good spede and fortune in your affaires in the Kinges busynes, to the contentaõn of his pleasur, and increse of your honor, as yo^r noble hert can devyse or thynk. W⁹ton at London, the ix day of ffebruary.

48.

A Lre to the Officers of Man.

Trusty and Welbeloved, I grete you well. And wher it is evydently knowen, that opon Warres is now vsed betwixt the Realmes of England and Skotland, aswell by Sea as by Lande; by reason wherof it is thought by me and my Counsaill, that I oughte to have the more respecte and regarde for the sure defence of my Ile of Man, which considered can nother soo honovrably nor soo surly be defended & kepte by your Deputies, as by your personall presens, and specially in suche tyme and case, as is now present and lyke to ensue: Wherfor I will and desire you, that ye in convenyent hast, when God shall send convenable wynde and wether, personally resort into the said Ile before the feaste of Palmesonday next at the formast, and ther to make your abydyng duryng all this next Somer season, and longer as nede shall require, onles ye shall haue Lycence or comādemente from me otherwyse to do. And yf in case ye haue suche busynes, y^t ye can not, or will not, thus do, Then I comāde you to sende me word and knolage therof, to the intent that I may provyde of suche on, as soo shall do; for I will not be content, that yo^r Office & Rōme ther be occupied by any Deputy, specially in such tyme of warr; &c.

Lře miss. anno Vicesimo quinto regni R. Henrici octavi.

49.

A Lře to the Abbot of Whalley¹ condning the preparaƧon of
certeyn men &c.

[L. & P., 1533, No 610: Hist. MSS. Com. Report, vi. 444.]

Reverend ffather in God, in my hertyst maner I Recomend me to you. And wher it is soo, that I am credably informed by my officers in the Ile of Man, that the Lord of the Owt Iles, wth the ayde of sūme Skotts, intendith, if he can and may be able to brynge his malicious purpose to effect, to enterprise to entre my land and Ile of Man, and to execute sūme displeasure ther; whiche, God willyng, I trust wth his grace to defend and withstande, and with suche provysion, as ys alredy forseyn ther and shalbe more largely provided for, wth suche ayd as I shall send theder, it shall not lye in his power too accomplyshe his malyce. Wherfor I hertly desir you, that ye by your polycy will cause the nomber of xx^{ti} tall Men and good Archers of yo^r teñnts to be taken in such places, as ye thynke convenyente, to be put in a redynes as fote men, well harnysed after the mañer of the cuntre in whyt Jacketts, wth my Badge of the Legges of Man of red clothe, befor on the brest, or behynd on their backes, and in all hast possible to passe into my said Ile, for the defense beforsaid, in cūpany wth xx other psons, that I haue writon to Roger Shirburn to ppare and in lyke wyse to make redy, of the teñnts of my S⁹vante, Thom^{as} Sherborn,² and of my teñnts wthin his rule. And for the time the sayd men shall do me ʒvice ther, they shall haue such resonable reward for ther ʒvice, lyke as my Auncesters haue vsed

¹ This was John Paslew, the last abbot, who was elected in 1506, and executed March 12, 1537 (see *anti*, p. 35, note 1).

² Thomas Sherburne of Stonyhurst married Jane, daughter of Sir John Townley, and died 1536.

to gyff at suche lyke tymes, and ther resonable costs born ; So as I trust, of reason they shall hold theym content. And at my cūmyng into the Cuntre I shall recompense you for the said Whyte Jaketts. And forsomoche as I haue counted wth you, not to make any [*any person*] my Deputy Stward of your Lands wthoute your consent, by reason wherof I am now unprovdyed of a Deputy ; therfor I must now put you to the more payn in this behalfe, desiring you eftsones to haue the same my request in your remembrance, and to accomplyshe the same. And you thus doying shall deŵe my herty thankes, and thus hartely fare ye well. At my Manor of Colham, the ix day of June.

50.

Another Lre of the same tenor, to Roger Shirborn, for the pparaõn of xx men to be sent in lyke maner to Man, for the defense of the same, they beyng of my Lords teñnts, w^{thin} the rule of his servant, Thom^{as} Sherborn, and of the said Thom^{as} teñnts, and which bare date and was sent wth the forsaid lre.

51.

A Lre to Sr Willm ffitzwillm ¹ for the Abbot of Whalley.

Cosyn, in my moost herty maner I recoṁende me to you. And wher there was a mater in varyance betwene the Abbot of Whalley on the on party, and on Thoñs Bulcoke and others of the other partie, for tythe cornes in Mersheden,² whiche mater was dependyng befor you in the Duchie Chamber, and latelye dismyssed owt of the same vnto the Spirituall Court ; Sith whiche tyme the Spirituall Juges haue awarded certeyn processe, at the

¹ Sir William Fitzwilliam was Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (see *ante*, p. 7).

² Mersheden, also Merclesden, Merlesden, later Marsden.—See Baines, ii. 245.

Suete of the said Abbot, against dyverse of theyme, as well Cytaðons, Suspenðons, as Excomunicaðons, which in no wise they wold obey, nor appere vnto to make answarr, but in sundry wise and faðons, by the maynt^{ce} and procurement of one Cristofer Lystir and other of his confoderacy, haue in violent and presumptuose man^r pulled and rased the said Suspenðons &c in peces, owt of the hands of the Curat standyng in the pulpit to execute the same: And over that haue suffred and mayntened the said psons soo exðicat to resort into the Church, at suche tymes as Dyvyne S^ovice, shuld have byn mynystred; by occasion wherof the people of the Þishe cold haue no Dyvyne S^ovice, to the evyll example that lately hath byn sene in these þties. And I, willyng to haue don good herin & to have pacyfied the said variance, desired S^r John Towneley, ¹ knyght, and also caused some of my Counsaill wth hym, to here and examyn this said variance at Whalley; wher all and euy thing forsaid was aswell proved, as cõfessed by the party offendyng, to be true. And notwithstanding that the moost part of the Kings teñnts and others in Mersheden be reconsiled and agreid wth the Abbot, yet the said Cristofer and others of his confederacy do remayne still in their obstynacy, and will not be reformed to good order. Wherfor I desire you in the advauncement of Justice, and the rather at this my requeste, to be good and favorable to the said Abbot in this his lawfull cause, when the matter shall come

¹ Sir John Townley was the son of Sir Richard Towneley by his wife Johanna, daughter of Richard Southworth of Samlesbury. From the entry in the Visitation of 1533 he seems to have had a high opinion of the Earl of Derby. The herald, who met with scant courtesy from Sir John ("I soght hym all day Rydinge in the wyld country & his reward was ijs., w^h the guyde hadd the moste parte, and I had as evill a jorney as ever I hadd," is the concluding remark) observes: "I wote not what his wifes name is, nor I made no greate inquisition, for he would have no noate taken of hym, saying that ther was no more Gentilmen in Lancashire But my Lord of Derbye and Mountegle" (*Visit of Lanc.*, C. S., xcvi. 43). Sir John had married Anne, daughter of Ralph Catterall (*Lanc. and Ches. Wills*, C. S., New Series, 3, pp. 17 n., 226).

before you. And yf it lye in me, I shalbe glad to deſue your approved Kyndnes, showed to me & my frynds at all tymes. And thus o^r Lord, &c. W^oton at Lathom, the x day of September.

52.

A Lre to the Abbot¹ of ——— in Skotland.

Reuerend ffather in God, in my hertymaner I comēd me to you, glad to here of your welfare. And for the good report, that I here of your goodness shewed to my subgetts of the Ile of Man, I geve you my herty thankes. And wheras I vnderstand, that ye be asyet vnprovyded of a fermo^r and Stward of yo^r spirituall and temporall possessions wthin my said Ile, I desire you to be cōtented, that my welbeloved S^ovant, John Gardyner, Comptroller² wthin my said Ile, may by you be admytted at this my instans to be your fermo^r and Stward of the premisses, lyke as your predecesso^rs haue vsed to admyt e^uly suche ffermo^r at the nomōn of my Auncestors. And yo^r [you?] thus doing ye shall not be only p^rvided of an honnest man, and suche as shall content and paye vnto you youre dutyes, but also therby deſue my herty thanks to be remembred towards you. Writon at Lathom, the xix day of July.

¹ The abbot was probably the abbot of Whitehorn, Wigtonshire, who held lands in the Isle of Man. Whitehorn, older Hwitern, the Candida Casa of Bede, is said to have been the seat of the oldest bishopric in Scotland, and its cathedral was founded by St. Ninian in the fourth century. There was there also a celebrated priory founded and richly endowed by Fergus, Lord of Galloway.

² Among the officers in the Isle of Man were the Receiver-General and the Comptroller, whose duties are stated as follows:—"The Receiver-General or Treasurer has the Charge of the Revenue, and pays all the Salaries of the Civil List, but is accountable to the Comptroller, who always sits with him both on Receipts and Payments, and is the Auditor of the general Accompts." *Hist. of House of Stanley*, p. 223.

53.

A Lre to Maister Cromwell.

[Hist. MSS. Com. Rep., vi. 444 ; L. & P., 1533, No. 425.]

Maister Cromwell, I right hertly comende me to you. And wher there be diuerse and many of my frynds, neghburres and ſvantes comon vp to london at this present tyme, accordyng as they do vnyuersally furthe of all other parties of the Realme, partly to fyn, and other part to be put in the order to be made knyghts by the Kings grace, or by his assigneys: Wherfor I desire, that ye wilbe so good vnto me and my frynds, as to set furthe suche as I shall geve to you their namys foloyng, whiche shalbe vere mete for the order to be made by the Kings grace wth the Sworde, and the Residue to be put to their fynes wth youre favo^r. And thus, &c.

[Here in the MS. follows the Correspondence given in part I.]

Lre misse Anno xxv^o R. R. Hen^r VIII.

54.

A Lre to George Leche.

Trusty and welbeloved, I comende me to you. And wher as I am Stward of the Abbey of Delacres,¹ and am informed, that on John Gybson, being on of the Abbots teñts and und^r my rule, chaunsed to be present, when variance was betwixt Edmond Savage and yo^r ſvants anends the takyng of a Distresse, nothing intendyng but to make the best, as I am informed: Wherfor if it

¹ Delacres or Dieulacres Abbey, in the parish of Leek, Staffordshire, near the borders of Cheshire. It was a Cistercian abbey, and founded in 1214 by Randal, Earl of Chester.

soe be, I hertly desire you not to vexe nor trouble the said John, but and [*if*] any trespas or defaut be [brought home] to hym, he shalbe ordred at yo^r pleas^r, and make you a large amends for the same trespas. And you forbering hym in this behalf at my request, I shalbe glad to accomlishe your desire in any your resonnable request hereafter, as knoith our Lord God, who haue you in his keping. At my Mano^r of Lathom, the xii day of July, 1533.

55.

A Lre to the Mayor of Chester.¹

Maister Mayer, in my hertyst maner I comend me to you. And wher it is soo, that I, accordyng to the tytle of my inheritance, haue geven and admytted John Thorpe to the office of on of the S^piants of Chester of the Watergate,² vnto whom I desire you to shew your lawfull favo^r, and minstre vnto hym suche benyvolence and goodnes, as ye and yo^r predycsessors haue used to suche, as haue exercysed the said office; in whiche doing ye shall dedue my herty thanks. And thus hertly fare ye well. At Lathom, the — of July.

56.

A Lre to the Lord Dacres.³

[Hist. MSS. Com. Rep., vi. 444; L. & P., 1533, No. 968.]

My vere good Lord and Cosyn, in my herty maner I recomende

¹ Henry Gee was Mayor of Chester in 1533 (L. & P., 202).

² "There are four principal gates in the walls of Chester—the North-gate, East-gate, Bridge-gate, and Water-gate: all these except the North-gate, of which the citizens had the charge, were kept by persons who held by sergeantry under the Earls of Chester, and were entitled to certain tolls. The custody of the Water-gate belonged for several generations to the Earls of Derby, of whom it was purchased by the Corporation about the year 1778. The sergeant of this gate is bound to execute the Mayor's processes on the river Dee,"—Lysons, ii. 611-13.

³ See *ante*, No. 45, note.

me to you. Wher I perceyve by your lre, directed to Sr Robart Bellyncham,¹ Knyght, dated at Naword, the xi day of this August, yt ye be informed by my good Lord of Northumberland, that the Skottyshe King intendeth to invade y^{is} our Souveraigne Lords Realme ; Wherfor ye desir hym and comāde hym in the Kings name, that he, wth all the horseinge that he may make, upon an howers warnyng to be in aredynes to resist the same ; And forasmoche as the said Sr Robart ys Stward to my Lady my Mother and me of our teñnts nere vnto ffurnes and far from the borders of Skotland ; Therfor I desire you to be contented, that the said Sr Robart, wth the teñnts aforsaid and suche other as he can make, may ſue the King vnder me, if any suche case shall fortune ; ye having otherwise suffycyent number and power for the Borders and Marches of the Realme. And of your mynd heryn I desire you to asserteyn the said Sr Robart. And this doying ye shall haue me glad to do you pleasr, if it lye in me, as knowthe our Lord, &c.

57.

A Lre to Sr Robart Bellyncham concernyng the same.

[Hist. MSS. Com. Rep., vi. 445 ; L. & P., 1533, No. 969.]

Trusty and welbeloved, I grete you well. And wher I haue w^oton to my Lord Dacres to be cōtented, that ye, my Lady my Mothers teñnts and myn maye ſue the King vnder me, when the case shall require ; he havynge otherwise suffycyent number and power for the defence of the M^oches and Borders of the Realme : Wherfor my pleasr ys, that ye send to hym to know his f^rther mynd herin, and to asserteyn me of the same. And thus, &c.

¹ See *ante*, p. 45.

To the Lord President¹ of the Kings Counsaill in the M^oches of
Wales, for Edward Gruffith, esquier.

My very good Lord, in my herty maner I comēd me to you. And wher as my Auncestres had certeyn lands wthin the Countie of Lancastre by way of exchange of the auncestres of my right welbeloved Edward Gruffth, for other lands, sumtyme my said Auncestres, lying in Wales; of the whiche lands in Wales my said auncestres had good tyle, and therof peceably seased by the space of many yeres: This notwthstandyng, as I am credibly informed on the behalf of the said Edward Gruff., he is vexed and troubled, befor you and other of the Counsaill of the Merches, for a pcell of the said Lands, called Coydalyn, wth thappurteñincs: Wherfor as it is supposed I haue certeyn Evidences at my Mano^r of Colh^am towching the said Lands in traus; wherfor I hertly desire you that the matter may be respited vnto suche tyme I and my Counsaill may haue conuenyent tyme to make serche for the same, for the specefyng of his said tyle; And that he in the meane tyme be no further vexed nor troubled for the same. And you thus doyng I shalbe glad &c. At Knowseley, &c.

¹ If this letter belongs to the year 1536, the Lord President to whom it is addressed would be Roland Lee, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, sometimes called of Chester (L. & P., 1453; see also Index); and the case to which the Earl's letter refers might have some light thrown upon it by a letter of Sir Richard Bulkeley to Cromwell, dated Oct. 1 of that year. The letter speaks of Edward Gruff's (Griffith's) suit to Cromwell to have his (Griffith's) tenants exempt from Bulkeley's rule, and the writer goes on: "If I use myself towards the said Edward and his tenants contrary to right and equity, the King's Commissioners on the Marches will see redress" (*ib.*, 825). It may be this suit that called for the Earl's interference on behalf of Griffith.

59.

Lre misse A^o xxxi^o. to my vere good Lord my Lord Sainct John.¹

My vere good Lord, in my hertyest maner I comend me to your good Lordship, wth herty thanks for yo^r goodnes shewed to me at all tymes. And wher I understand vpon the Relac^on of Maister Hennage,² that the Kynges highnes vpon my humble swte to his magestie graunted by wordes, that I shuld haue the preferment of the Wardshipp of the body and landes of Rauff Standishe,³ sonne and heir of my late S^ovant, Alexander Standishe,⁴ decessed, I hertly desir your good Lordship of your lawfull favo^r and good will therein, and to help me to the Kyngs therof by w^otyng. And if it lye in me, I shalbe glad to shew unto yo^r Lordship such pleas^r, as I can do, as knowys god; who pre^serve your Lordship in hono^r, wth daily increasement of the same. At my Mano^r of Lathom, the xxiii day of October.

¹ Sir William Paulet was raised to the peerage March, 1539, as Baron St. John of Basing. He was afterwards created Earl of Wiltshire (Jan. 12, 1550), and subsequently Marquis of Winchester (Oct. 12, 1551). He was for some time Comptroller of the Household, but at the date of this letter was Treasurer of the Household. He was also Master of the Wards, to which office he had been appointed Jan. 14, 1531 (L. & P., 80, secs. 11, 28). Another instance of the kind of application that was made to one in this position is given in a letter of Sir G. Lawson to Cromwell, in which he says, that "several persons are laboring to George Paulet in the absence of Master Paulet, to have the wardship of my daughter Rykbee's son and heir" (L. & P., 1533, No. 1048).

² Hennage was a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber from 1528 to 1544. He had been recommended to the King by Wolsey (S. P., i. 309; see in the same volume several letters of Hennage to Wolsey; also Ellis's *Original Letters*, 3rd Series, ii. 132).

³ Ralph seems not to have lived long, as in the Visitation of 1567 the heir of Alexander is given as Edward, and no mention is made of Ralph.

⁴ See *ante*, p. 82.

60.

To my right welbiloved ffrynd, Mr. Portman.^{*}

Maister Portman, in my hertyest maner I comēde me vnto you; Certefying you, that I vnderstand upon the Relaçon of Maister Hennage, that the Kings Highnes vpon my humble Swte to his magestie graunted by wordes, that I shuld haue the preferment of the Wardship of the body and landes of Rauff Standishe, Sonne and heyer of my late ʒvant, Alexander Standishe, decessed. Wherin I haue desired and moued my good Lord Seynt John of his good will and lawfull favo^r to be shewed to me therin, and to helpe me to the Kings graunt therof in Wrytyng. In the whiche my saide Swtes to his Lordship I hertly desire you of your fortherance and lawfull favo^r. And I shalbe ryght glad wth thankes to shew vnto his lordship & you, for your good will and paynes therin, suche pleas^r as I can do; desiring you, that my S^ʒvant, this berer, and my Counseill resortyng to you maye haue your best advyce from tyme to tyme for expediōn therein. And if it lye in me, I shalbe right glad to requyt your gentilnes, as god knowes. At my Manor of Lathom, the xxiii day of October.

^{*} Perhaps this is the same Master Portman who is referred to in the following passage:—"Mr. Secretary then called to him Master Portman of the Temple, and commanded him to make out a bill for the resumption of the patent" (L. & P., 1536, No. 34). This also may be the same as the William Portman who was in the commission of the peace for Somerset (L. & P., 1529, No. 5243), was member for Taunton (*ib.*, 6043), and was one of the examiners for Somerset of Cardinal Wolsey's possessions in that county (*ib.* 6516). He was a member of the Middle Temple, and was made a Judge of the King's Bench in 1546, an office which he continued to hold throughout Edward VI.'s reign, and during the first two years of Mary's. He was then made Chief Justice, and so remained till his death, which took place Feb. 5, 1557 (see Foss's *Biographia Juridica*).

Litter⁹ misse A^o xxviii. H. VIII.

61.

To the Erle of Northumberland.¹

My vere good Lord and Cosyn, in my right herty and louing man^r I comēd me to you. And wher as the Abbot and Cōvent of the Monastery of ffurness haue made me their Stward² of all their Landes belonging to their Monastery, as may appere by w⁹ting vnder their Cōvent Seale; And that notwithstanding, as I am informed, ye pretend to be Stward vnto the said Abbot of his Lordship of Wenterburn,³ and by the color of the same your pretence ye do not only punyshe the said Abbots teñnts there, and do order theym lyke as and ye were Stward their in dede, whiche ys vnkown to me, that ye shuld have any suche interest soo to do: Wherfor in my moost herty and louing maner I desir you, that ye will no forther intermedell therin, vnto suche tyme yo^r right be approved to be better then myn. And that knowen, I shall not only be contented, that ye shall have and inioye that ye oughte to haue of right, but also to be content, y^t they shalbe reformed and punyshed, if they haue offended you or any of yo^rs: Desiring you to be good Lord vnto the saide teñnts vpon their demeano^rs, and the better at my request; And that I may be ascerteyned by writyng of your mynd herin, and thus rest. Knowseley, the xxix day of August.

¹ See *ante*, No. 47.

² See *ante*, p. 61, note 2.

³ Wenterburn, in Craven, is mentioned as belonging to Furness in a charter of Henry II.'s time (*Annal. Furn.*, 149). A little later this property was the cause of some dissension between the neighbouring houses of Furness and Salley (*ib.*, 183), and yet later was the cause of trouble on account of the attempts made by the Earl of Cumberland to wrest this manor from the monks in the time of the last abbot (*ib.*, 340, 359).

62.

To my right welbeloved Cosyn, Sir Wiſſm ffitzwilſm,¹ Lord
Admyrall and Tresorer of the Kyngs moost honorable
howsehold.²

[L. & P., 1536, No. 1118].

My vere good Cosyn, in my moost lovyng and herty mañer
I comend me vnto you, wth my right herty thankes for your
favor and gentilnes shewed to me at sundry tymes; desyryng
you eftsoones to mynyster and shew unto me yo^r favor, help and
fortherance in these thinges hereafter specyfyed. And yf it shall
lye in me, I shalbe glad partly to recompens the same. ffirst,
wher as the Kings Comission³s haue not only valued the glasse
and barres in the Churche wyndowes of Boriscoghe,³ and in the
hall and Chambers of the Priory, wth pavyng stones and other,
but also they haue valued all other goods there, at a higher
prise then they be well worth; wherof I desir you I may have a
resonable allowance and deduc^on in the prises therof, as the
matter shall appere unto you vpon the playn declara^on y^of.
And forasmoche as my Auncesters, sumtymes founders therof,
lye buried there, I wold be ryght glad, that the said Churche
myght stand in good repara^on, if the same myght stand wth the
Kings pleas^r, all thoghe the Priory do contynue, as it is, sup-
pressed; intending, god willing, to fynd sume Preist theire, vpon
my own costes and charges, to do devyne ſvice for the soules of

¹ See *ante*, p. 7.

² This letter was written Nov. 11, 1536 (see L. & P.)

³ Burscough Priory, as the Earl notes in this letter, had been founded by his
ancestors, and in the report of the Commissioners in 1536 the Earl of Derby is returned
as founder (L. & P., x. 141). Many of his ancestors were buried there. The valua-
tion to which the Earl refers contains the following items:—Bells, lead, and goods,
£418 10s. 10d.; woods worth to be sold, £25 (*ib.*, 1191).

my said Auncesters, and for the ease and the welth of the neyburis nere inhabyting to the same : desiring you, therfor, to helpe me to bye the Belles and the Leade their for a resonable prise. And whereas my Vncle, Sr Jamys Stanley,¹ is Stward of the said Priory, as apperith by wryting under the Cōvent Seale of the same ; And forsomoche as yt ys dowed, whether he ought to haue the conducōn of the teñnts belonging to the said Priory in the Kings Juice or not, by force of his patent ; And forsomoche alsoo as the saide teñnts be inhabyting nere unto my Manor of Lathom, and sume tym percell of the same Manor, And that they haue tyme owt of mynd owed their good willes and fauors to me and my Auncesters, and ʒved the King in his warres under the conducōn and leading of my saides Auncesters ; I therfor desir you, that the saides teñnts may contynue and vse soo to do, wherby I trust the Kings grace shalbe as well ʒved, as yf any other had the rule of theym. And forsomoche as the tythe cornes of the Parishe of Ormyskyrke,² lately belongyng to the said Priory, be right comodeous for the vse of my howsehold and nere to me ; Therfor I desir you to ʒfer me thereunto befor a nother, doying as a nother will do ; And to the fferme of the wholl Pory, if the same maye be had. And wher as the Prior of Holand³ hath holden to ferme at the will of me certeyn of my lands in Holand,⁴ of the yerly value of viii^{li} or therabouts, whiche, forsomoche as it lyeth nere

¹ See *ante*, p. 92, note.

² A great part of the parish of Ormskirk had been granted to the priory of Burscough on its foundation by Robert, son of Henry de Torbock and Lathom, in the reign of Richard I. (see Baines, iv. 235), so that in asking for the corn tithes, as he does in this letter, the Earl was trying to get back what had been given away by one of his ancestors.

³ In the case of this priory, as in that of Burscough, the Earl of Derby is returned as founder (L. & P., 141). It was somewhat less valuable than Burscough, the rent of the latter being returned as £90, that of the former as £65.

⁴ See *ante*, p. 82, note 2.

me, I intend to occupye yt myself in pastur ; And therfor if Sr Thomas Butler¹ or any other wold procure or move the Kings grace or you to me for the preferment of hym or any [*not completed*].

[*Here follows the Correspondence dealing with the Pilgrimage of Grace.*]

Lre miss. anno xxix R. R. Henr⁹ VIII^{vi}.

63.

To my Lord Admyrall.

My vere good Lord and Cosyn, in my moost herty maner I reco^mend me to yo^r good Lordship, wth my herty thanks for your kyndnes and favor shewed to me, as well towchyng my lres patents concernyng the Creation of my Erledom, as in all other my cawses ; desyryng your good contynuanee in the same, and that it may stand wth your pleasur to conclude wth my v^ovant towching my saide lres patents : Certyfying you, that accordyng to an appoyntment made wth my Lord of Sussex² in these parties,³ I haue sent my v^ovant, T. T.,⁴ this berer, vnto you to declare vnto you, by the advyce of my Counsaill lerned, my ryght and tytle to my lands in Holand, w^{ch} the late Prior of Holand held of me at wyll from yere to yere. And forther to

¹ Sir Thomas Butler of Bewsea, baron of Warrington (?). In 1523 he was appointed receiver for the King of all his houses, manors, lordships, castles, lands, and tenements in Lancashire and Cheshire (*List. of Bispham*, C. S., New Series, 10, p. 8).

² In this year (1537) the Earl of Sussex was sent down to the North of England to examine into the circumstances of the rebellion that had broken out there. As has been already noticed (see *ante*, pp. 32, note 6 ; 34, note 1), the affairs of Furness came within the range of his investigations.

³ At Preston. See No. 65.

⁴ Probably Thurstan Tyldesley. See *ante*, p. 94, note 4.

make Suite in my behalf to your Lordship, for a Lease to be had to me for the Manor of the late suppressed Priory of Boriscoghe, wth the demayne lands of Boriscoghe and Merton belongyng to the same. Also aduertysyng your Lordship, that I haue a desir to se the Kings grace this somer season ; desiryng your advyse, what tyme ye thynk shall be convenyent for me soo to do, and to certify me of your mynd therof by my said S⁹vant, or by your w⁹ting, soo as shall stand wth your pleas^r. And in all these cawses I eftsoones desir you of your accustomed kyndnes and favor. And yf it lye in me, I shalbe glad partly to recompence the same, soo as I may ; as knoith our Lord god, who haue you in his svre keeping. At Knowseley, the first daye of May.

64.

To my Lord P⁹vey Seale.

My vere good Lord, in my moost herty manner I reco^mend me to yo^r good Lordship, wth my ryght herty thanks for your favor and kyndnes shewed to me in sundry my causes ; and specyally, amongst others your goodnes shewed to me, for your good help in fortheryng me to an end wth the Kings grace towchyng the arrerages of my det due to his Highnes, and for stalment of days of payment for the same, whiche I intend by gods grace surely and substantially to kepe, according to your direc^{co}n. Aduertisyng your Lordship also, that I have a desir to see the Kings grace this somerseason, at suche tyme as I myght perceyue shuld be moost convenyent standing wth the Kings pleasur ; Desiring your lordship I maye haue your advyse therin, other by my S⁹vant, this berer, or otherwise by your Wryting, as shall stand wth your pleasur. And if yt lye in me partly to de^sue your accustomed kyndnes and favor, ye

shalbe therof assured, like as ye haue sundry ways bounden me.
As knoith o^r Lord god, who pre^sue yo^r good Lordship.

65.

To my Lord of Sussex.

My vere good Lord and brother,¹ in my moost louing and herty manⁿ I reco^mend me to yo^r good Lordship, wth my right herty thanks for your kyndnes shewed to me in all my causes and affares; Certefying you, that I haue sent my ^vvant, T. T.,² this berer, to my lord Admyrall, according to the appoyntment made betwixt you and me at Preston,³ to declare my tytle and right, by the advyse of my Counsaill lerned, to my lands, whiche the late ^por of Holand held of me at will; And also to make svte on my behalfe to my said Lord, for a lease to be made to me of the Man^{or} of the late suppressed Priory of Boriscoghe, wth the demayne lands belonging to the same. Wherin and in other matters, that my said S^vvant shall on my behalf declare vnto you, I desir your favo^r and accustomed goodnes; Which if it lye in me, I shalbe glad to my power partly to de^sue. As knoweth o^r lord god, &c.

¹ Sussex had married the Earl of Derby's sister, Margaret. Cf. p. 65.

² See note on No. 63.

³ *Ibid.*

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